Vol. VIII., No. 31 *September, 1919*

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HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on **Monday, the 28th day of July, 1919.**

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 30th June, 1919.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£34,439	1	3
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	9,691	19	0
	£44,131	0	3
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund	£10,000	0	0
They recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Eight per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	20,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	2,000	0	0
To next Account	12,131	0	3
	£44,131	0	3

The Reserve Fund now stands at £150,000.

The sub-branch in Clara has been converted into a permanent branch of the Bank; and sub-branches have been opened in Clondalkin, Keady, Kilbeggan, Kinnegad, and Moate.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1919.

N.B.—The Dividend will be payable on and after TUESDAY, the 5th proximo. Shareholders are requested, in case of **change of address**, to notify the same in writing to the Secretary at their earliest convenience.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1919. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers...	2,011,550	16	5
,, Reserve Fund	150,000	0	0	,, Treasury Bills	250,000	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,355,471	9	1	,, Investments, viz.:—			
,, Sundry Agents	22,968	8	5	£4,616,200 British Government Securities (War Stocks and Bonds, Consols, Local Loans Stock, and Guaranteed 2¾ per cent. Stock)			
,, Officers' Superannuation Fund (of which £37,980 9s. 7d. is invested as per contra)	41,439	7	8	£330,000 Indian and Colonial Government Stocks... ...			
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,781	19	0	£150,000 Canadian Northern Ontario Ry Co. 3½ per cent. First Mortgage Debenture Stock, 1961 (Guaranteed by the Canadian Government)	5,260,971	5	0
,, Profit and Loss Account £44,131 0 3				£100,000 Grand Trunk Pacific Ry. Co. 3 per cent. First Mortgage Sterling Bonds, 1962 (Guaranteed by the Canadian Government)			
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund .. £10,000 0 0				£36,978 Dublin Corporation Stock			
	34,131	0	3	£445,082 Sundry Debenture Stocks, etc.			
					7,522,522	1	5
				,, Investment, a/c Officers' Superannuation Fund:—£40,000 5 per cent. War Stock, 1929-1947 ...	37,980	9	7
				,, Bills Discounted	657,431	0	9
				,, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	2,677,091	0	2
				,, Sundry Agents	72,045	3	5
				,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 53 Branches), written down to	142,722	9	1
	£11,109,792	4	5		£11,109,792	4	5

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1919.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, War Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rent and Taxes, Repairs, and all other outlay	50,743	0	6	By Balance from last Account ...	9,691	19	0
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts	85,182	1	9
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1919, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ 20,000 0 0							
,, Bank Premises Acct. 2,000 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 12,131 0 3							
	34,131	0	3				
	£94,874	0	9		£94,874	0	9

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Those redeemable at par or over par on fixed dates (including the War Stocks and War Bonds) stand in the Balance Sheet at under cost price, and all the other Investments at the market prices current on 30th June, 1919. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1919.

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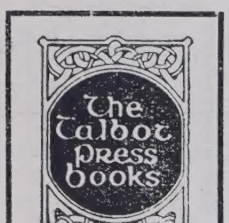

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CONTENTS.

			PAGE
I.	SOCIALISM AND CATHOLIC TEACHING ...	*Professor Peter Finlay, S.J.*	353
II.	THE IRISH LAW OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION	*Professor Eoin MacNeill, B.A.*	367
III.	SPIRITUALISM AND ITS DANGERS	*Herbert Thurston, S.J.*	383
IV.	THE GAELIC LEAGUE, 1893-1919 ...	*Professor Arthur E. Clery, LL.D.*	398
V.	PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE	*Edmond Power, S.J., D.Litt.*	409
VI.	AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION	*T. Wibberley, N.D.A.*	424
VII.	POETRY—REX A LIGNO	*H. M. Gaffney*	434
	PAN'S VILLANELLE	*Armel O'Connor*	435
	DARKNESS	*Cathaoir O'Braonain*	436
	FUNERAL SONG	*George O'Neill*	436
	NIGHT	*Theodore Maynard*	437
	CREATION	*Charles J. Quirk*	437
VIII.	UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS—No. 7 ...	*Professor Osborn Bergin, Ph.D.*	438
IX.	SHAKESPEARE FROM A NEW ANGLE	*W. J. Lawrence*	442
X.	THE FRIARS PILGRIMS FOR CHRIST	*Ambrose Coleman, O.P.*	456
XI.	CHRONICLE—I. IRISH FICTION FOR BOYS ...	*Stephen J. Brown, S.J.*	469
	II. IMPRESSIONS OF AUSTRIA DURING THE WAR ...	*D. J. F.*	473
	III. SPAIN'S HOMAGE TO THE SACRED HEART ...	*Miguel D.*	480

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

The Principles of Christian Apologetics, p. 486.—A Handbook of Moral Theology, p. 488.—John Redmond, p. 489.—The Venerable Bede, p. 491.—James Fintan Lalor, p. 494.—Aongus O Dálaigh, p. 495.—Amhráin Mhuighe Seóla, p. 497.—Studies in Modern Irish, p. 499.—Spioraid na Saoirse, p. 500.—A Handbook of Antique Prose-rhythm, p. 501.—Vocational Agricultural Education by Home Projects, p. 504.—Education and Social Movements, p. 506.—Romans Populaires, p. 507.—The Hohenzollerns in America, p. 508.—Documents in the Public Record Office, Dublin, p. 509.—The Care of Documents, p. 509.—The Pilgrimage of Etheria, p. 511.—The Irish Labour Movement, p. 512.—Science and Labour, p. 513.—The Story of British Music, p. 514.—Shakespeare : His Music and Song, p. 514.—Cambridge Readings in Literature, p. 516.—Leaves from the Laurel Tree, p. 517.—Links between Ireland and Shakespeare, p. 518.—English Literature during the last half-century, p. 518.—Papa's War, p. 519.—America in France, p. 520.—A Last Diary of the Great Warr, p. 521.—La Vie des Ames, p. 522.—The Proofs of the Truths of Spiritualism, p. 523.—The Follies and Frauds of Spiritualism, p. 523.—Spirit Experiences, p. 523.—The America of To-day, p. 524.—Dysert-Diarmada, p. 526.—Pour marier Colette, p. 527.—Books also received, p. 528.

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SOCIALISM AND CATHOLIC TEACHING.

BY PETER FINLAY, S.J.

Professor of Theology in the National University of Ireland.

I.—The deadly plague which is tainting society to its very core, and bringing it to a state of extreme peril. . . . We are alluding to that sect of men who, under the motley and all but barbarous terms and titles of Socialists, Communists, and Nihilists are spread abroad throughout the world, and . . . strive to carry out the purpose long resolved upon, of uprooting the foundations of civilised society. . . . From the heads of States to whom, as the Apostle admonishes, all owe submission, and on whom the rights of authority are bestowed by God Himself, these sectaries withhold obedience, and preach the perfect equality of all men, in regard to rights alike and duties. The natural union of man and woman, which is held sacred even among barbarous nations, they hold in scorn; and its bond, whereby family life is chiefly maintained, they weaken or yield up to the sway of lust. And finally, spurred on by greedy hankering after things present . . . they at ack the right of property, sanctioned by the law of nature, and . . strain every nerve to seize upon and hold in common all that has been individually acquired by title of lawful inheritance, through intellectual and manual labour, or economy in living.

Leo XIII.: Encycl. *Quod Apost. Muneris*, 1878. (*The Great Encyclical Letters*, p. 22-3—Benziger).

The Church recognises the existence of inequality amongst men . . . . and she enjoins that the right of property and of its disposal, derived from nature, should, in the case of every individual, remain intact and inviolate.

Leo XIII.: *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of difference between man and the animal creation. . . . Man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the very soil, inasmuch as from the produce of the earth he has to lay by provision for the future . . . for God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and by the laws of individual races.

Leo XIII.: Encycl.: *Rerum Novarum*, 1891. (*The Great Encycl. Letters*, p. 210, 212).

Hence it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it . . . is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth.

Leo XIII.: *Ibid.*, p. 216.

II.—It is a suggestive and amusing fact that in the motley ranks of the defenders of capitalism the professional propagandists of freethought are comrades-in-arms of His Holiness the Pope: the ill-reasoned and inconclusive Encyclical lately issued against Socialism makes of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church belated camp followers in the armies marching under the banners raised by the agnostic exponents of the individualist philosophy.

James Connolly: *The New Evangel preached to Irish Toilers*, p. 4. (Published by the Socialist Party of Ireland, Liberty Hall, Dublin).

Would you confiscate the property of the capitalist class and rob men of that which they have, perhaps, worked a whole life-time to accumulate? Yes, sir, and certainly not. . . . Socialism will confiscate the property of the capitalist and in return will secure the individual against poverty and oppression; it, in return for so confiscating, will assure to all men and women a free, happy, and unanxious human life. James Connolly: *Socialism Made Easy*, p. 5-6. (Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow).

The capital of the master class is not their property; it is the unpaid labour of the working class—the hire of the labourer kept back by fraud.

James Connolly: *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Law, morality, religion are for him (the proletarian) merely so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which as many bourgeois interests are concealed. . . .

The proletarians have nothing of their own to secure. They must destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property. . . .

The Communists can condense their theory into one sentence: abolition of private property. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p. 14, 16. (Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow).

Nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous horror of our bourgeois at the community of women, which he pretends will be officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has nearly always existed . . . Bourgeois marriage is in reality community of wives. The Communists could at most be accused of wishing to replace a hypocritical and concealed community of women by an official and open community of women. Marx and Engels: *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The first act wherein the State appears as the real representative of the whole body social—the seizure of the means of production in the name of society—is also its last independent act as State. The interference of the State in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another, and falls of itself into desuetude. . . . The State is not "abolished"—*it dies out.*

Frederick Engels: *The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science*, p. 26. (Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow).

III.—Russian Soviet Constitution. Adopted by the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets at its sitting of July 10, 1918. Chapter II., 3:—

(*a*) All private property in land is abrogated and all land is declared to be the common property of the people, and is handed over to the workers without compensation to its previous owners, on the basis of equalised use.

(*b*) All forests, mines, and waters of national importance, as well as all live stock and fixtures, model estates and agricultural concerns are declared to be the property of the nation.

(*c*) As a first step towards the complete transference to the Soviet Republic of Workers and Peasants of all factories, works, mines, railways, and other means of production and transport. . . .

(*e*) The nationalisation of all banks is hereby confirmed.

Chap. V., 13.—With a view to ensuring to the workers true liberty of conscience, the Church is disestablished in the State, and in the school, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is granted to all citizens.

New Russia, pp. 7, 9. (The Socialist Party of Ireland, Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin).

Greetings to the Bolshevik Republic ! Greetings and heartiest congratulations on this the first anniversary of its birth. . . .

New Russia appeals to all to stand by her, or at least to give her a sympathetic understanding. She appeals especially to the young men and women of Ireland, who are still full of hope and faith, and who have not yet outlived their ideals, who are strong and brave of heart, and who can thrill to noble deeds, etc., etc.

" From an Irish Socialist " in *New Russia*, pp. 19, 21.

THESE extracts—and many similar ones might be added—prove conclusively that :—

(*a*) There is a form of Socialism which Leo XIII., the supreme teaching authority of the Catholic Church, has explicitly condemned.

(*b*) That form is the one preached by Marx and Engels, and at present seeking expression in the Soviet Republic of Russia ;

(*c*) It is the form which the Socialist Labour Party in England and Scotland are preparing to set up ; and which the Socialist Party of Ireland recommend to Irish Workers, from their headquarters in Liberty Hall.

And there is no need to discuss at any length the Socialism which the Pope condemns, or to argue that it contradicts the plain and perpetual teaching of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the three chief doctrines which it involves—injustice of private ownership, particularly in land ; community of women ; abolition of all civil authority—are so clearly at variance with divinely revealed truth that they never came into prominence in either Jewish or Christian Church, or called for any formal condemnation. The moral law, imposed or approved by

God Himself, in both Testaments, emphatically condemns them. There is no place in the Marxian system for the Ten Commandments, or the Sermon on the Mount, or the Christian Sacraments, or the Gospel Counsels. Socialism, as propounded by Marx, Engels, Lassalle, and their disciples, and as it has taken hold on large numbers of the workers throughout Europe and America, is wholly materialistic : it knows nothing of God or of a future life. It is even actively and bitterly hostile to Christianity, and especially to that Catholic religion which we ourselves profess. We see it in operation in the Russia of our own day, where it tramples on the Greek Church with a ferocity only equalled by Turkish misrule in Asia. There are many among us who remember the anti-Catholic excesses of the Paris Communards in 1871. And we have grown accustomed during the last half century to the anti-clerical and irreligious legislation, and attempts at such legislation, by the Socialist parties in Italy, France, Belgium, Spain, England—wherever Socialism has gained political power. Hence adherents of the Socialism condemned by the three last Popes—that international socialism which is formulated in the extracts from propagandist pamphlets which I have quoted, and which James Connolly and his friends laboured strenuously to introduce into Ireland—are excommunicate. They are assuredly members of " an association which is plotting against the Church or lawful civil authorities." (J. C. : Can. 2335).

But the name Socialism is not limited to the doctrines and movements just described. It is applied frequently to theories which have little in common with those that have been adopted by the Socialist Labour Parties. There is a Socialism—State or Municipal—which seeks to withhold the ownership or at least the control of sources of production and means of distribution from private individuals, while it makes no attack on religion or on civil governments.

" The result of civil change and revolution," says

Leo XIII. (*Rerum Novarum*, p. 237), "has been to divide society into two widely differing classes. On the one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth; which has in its grasp the whole of labour and trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, broken down and suffering, and ever ready for disturbance." And again: "By degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been surrendered, all isolated and helpless, to the hard-heartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. The mischief has been increased by rapacious usury. . . . To this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals; so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself" (p. 209). And he adds: "Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with mischief which can in no other way be met or prevented, the public authority must step in to deal with it. . . . Limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference: the principle being that the law must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief" (pp. 230-1).

Few will be disposed to question the accuracy of the Pope's statements. Whatever may be the precise influence of the various causes which can be assigned—the destruction of the guild system, the growth of large industrial towns, the increasing use of perfected machinery and its substitution for human labour, the conditions of land tenure, the change from individual to company employers, facilities of communication, the setting aside of religion in public life—the fact is beyond controversy

that never before in Christian history has there been such a contrast between rich and poor; such a concentration of the material good things of life in the hands of a few, and such utter destitution among the many. Never did the toil of the worker bring him a smaller share of the riches he produces. Never were the profits of the employer and the income of the wage earner so plainly in opposition. Never was class enmity so widespread and so bitter. "The teeming masses of the labouring poor," as Leo XIII. says, bear "a yoke little better than slavery." Surely we have here an evil which, as the Pope adds, "the public authority must step in to deal with?" Experience of human nature proves that nowhere else can any remedy be looked for.

But what remedy can the State apply? No one, except the revolutionary socialists, whom, as we have seen, all Catholic teaching condemns, has suggested the total abolition of private property. Community of goods has been tried in various voluntary societies, more particularly in the United States. It has succeeded nowhere, unless in the Religious Orders of the Catholic Church and in the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay, and there under conditions which ordinary civil society can never reproduce. The theory even has been maintained by some Catholic writers upon ethics that private ownership is commanded by the Law of Nature, and, therefore, by God Himself: that a man has not only the right but the duty to make provision for both his present and his future wants; and that, to do so, he must have not only the use but the ownership of property. The argument is not convincing. If it were, the Catholic Church would have greatly erred in encouraging a Vow of Poverty which forbids all private ownership, and in permitting her ministers to establish community of goods in Paraguay. Besides, even when we admit that man is bound to provide for present and future needs, and not for himself only but for those as well who are dependent on him, it

nowise follows that, to make provision, he must acquire ownership of property: a right of use is abundantly sufficient.

Nor, indeed, if we distinguish between use and ownership, will it be easy to bring satisfactory proof that man has a natural right to own the necessary means of subsistence. Under normal conditions, he has a natural right to live, or rather to the usual and necessary requisites for the preservation of life. But if the use of such requisites, as distinct from their ownership, be sufficient for his purpose, it may be argued that his right extends no further.

On the other hand, it is evident that Catholic teaching lends no support to the theory that private ownership is essentially immoral. Not many will be found to maintain it, as regards the things which perish in our very use of them—food, drink, clothing, and the like; but not a few accept it, when applied to more permanent things—ways of communication, sources of production, coal, minerals, the very land itself; and in this latter sense the theory has met with considerable favour in recent times. We became to some extent familiar with it, when Mr. Henry George in America and Mr. Michael Davitt in Ireland sought to popularise their views on a Single Tax and Land Nationalisation. We hear much more of it to-day, when it has been largely adopted by a section of socialist and labour leaders. At the moment there is question only or mainly of coal and minerals; though there is no valid ground for the limitation. The miners are told that the earth is the common property of all mankind; that what individual man has not produced he can have neither natural nor God-given right to; that appropriation by individuals is a mere theft of inalienable public property: the nation may, or rather must, resume its ownership—and without compensation to the thieves.

Now, on this theory so put forward, it should be observed, in the first place, that it rests on simple asser-

tions unaccompanied by any proof. There is, there can be, no proof that the earth—the whole or any portion of it—is the common property of all mankind. No proof has ever been given, indeed it is demonstrably false, that production is either the sole or the sufficient ground of ownership. And, further, the theory is halting and illogical. Are we to be told that all other peoples—the Germans, the Chinese, the Kaffirs—have the same right to the soil of Ireland, and to all which it contains, that our Irish farmers have? And if not, why not? If the whole earth belongs inalienably to all mankind, how can any portion of it—a field, a province, a country—belong to any group of men? If the land and mines of Ireland are to be nationalised, why should it be for the advantage of Irishmen only? What valid reason can be suggested, in the theory we are considering, for thinking that God or nature has given the soil and minerals of Ireland to the present inhabitants of the island collectively, and not also to those of Great Britain and of the wide world generally? Finally, the theory is contradicted by the whole current of divine revelation and of Church teaching down to our own day. In the Old Testament we find no trace of communal ownership either of land or of other goods; nor does God manifest any disapproval of the Jewish social system; rather, He Himself (Levit. xxv.) expressly confirms and sanctions the rights of private owners. In the New Testament—as in the parable of the vineyard (Matt. xxi.) and elsewhere—Our Lord assumes the justice of individual property in land, and emphasises the rights that attach to it. Of the "piece of land" which Ananias sold (Acts v.) St. Peter says to him: "While it remained, did it not remain thine own? And, after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" In the Patristic writings and in the schools of theology we meet frequently with discussion on the nature of the right by which individual property in land is held; but that such property is in itself legitimate, in full accord with divine

and natural law, is never called in question : it is taken for granted, when not expressly and positively asserted. And Leo XIII., as is plain from our quotations, teaches authoritatively that private ownership of land, as of other things, so far from being in opposition to the principles of reason and of religion, is in perfect harmony with both, and is based on the rights of the individual and the welfare of civil society.

It is not, therefore, lawful for a Catholic to embrace that form of Socialism which holds all the sources of production—land, coal, minerals, waterpower, and the rest—to be of right the inalienable property of the collective people, state, or province, and denies that in these things there can be any just private ownership. Such a form of socialism is in contradiction with revealed religion, and is condemned by the perpetual teaching, implicit and express, of the Catholic Church.

But there remains a further and more important, because more practical, question for examination : admitting the entire lawfulness of private ownership in all the sources of production and distribution, is it obligatory on the State to permit such ownership ; or, may the State forbid or abolish it, when the common welfare appears to require its abolition ? May the State, for instance, without violation of natural or divine law, nationalise all the coal, iron, copper and other minerals of the country ; all the means of communication by land and air and water ; and the whole soil itself ? And, for the very reason that the question is practical, it is not concerned with an abstract right of ownership, as distinct from right of use and administration. The nationalisation of the coal mines, which so many English miners demand to-day, is one under which the people, through the government, is to own the mines, and work them, and bear whatever loss or appropriate whatever profit may result from the working. Under land-nationalisation, the State would be the sole landlord, would impose upon its tenants

whatever burthens the land could carry; and would absorb all but the minimum of profit, without which no tenants could be found to cultivate it.

Now, it is no part of our purpose to determine here if a convincing case has been made out for nationalising land or mines. Nationalisation of Irish land is not even discussed in Ireland to-day. The tendency of legislation for the last fifty years, and the ceaseless struggle of our people to become individual owners of their farms, make it unlikely that any scheme of State ownership will gain favour amongst us. It is otherwise with the mines: no large body of the people can ever hope to become mining proprietors, unless under a nationalisation scheme. They see in it no sacrifice of present or prospective personal rights. They would generally regard the experiment with indifference. But the ethical principles which underlie all schemes of nationalisation are identical: it cannot be unjust or immoral to nationalise land, if it be not unjust and immoral to nationalise coal and minerals.

That any scheme of nationalisation will be of benefit to the people, or to the workers in particular, is far from certain. Experiments have been already made in various of the public services; and the result seems generally to be less efficiency at greater cost. On the 1st of August last the United States Government relinquished control of telephone and telegraph lines, and the "Postal and Telegraph Co.," which took them over, at once announced a reduction of twenty per cent. in the rates and a considerable improvement in their working. Among ourselves, no one will allow that the telephone system is as satisfactory as when in the hands of a private company: and it is now worked at a serious loss, while before its purchase by the Government it made a handsome profit. In France, before the war, the worst managed railways were State-owned; and we see what State control has done, and at what a cost, for the railways of the United Kingdom. But there is no need to quote further from the

long list of admitted failures in attempts at nationalisation. Such attempts can only benefit the workers and the nation generally, if they increase the output of labour, or lessen the cost of production, or prevent strife between employers and employed. And already a considerable experience seems to show that the State, as owner or employer, can scarcely hope to secure all or any of these things. In every branch of industrialism in which comparison can be made, private enterprise appears to produce better results than the State is able to produce, at less cost and with at least an equal share of profits to the workers.

But, as we have already noted, it is no part of our present purpose to discuss at any length a question which is the subject of much and warm controversy. Whatever may be the economic aspect of nationalisation, we are here concerned solely with its lawfulness: and with its lawfulness, only in the hypothesis of its being to the advantage, certainly not to the detriment, of the State. So formulated, under such limitations, is there anything in Catholic teaching to prevent Catholics from accepting the theory of nationalisation, and from furthering its application to all merely material sources of production and distribution? May they, in this sense, be State Socialists? If State Socialists, they may, of course, be Municipal Socialists as well.

To this question only one answer appears possible: there is nothing in Catholic teaching opposed to State or Municipal Socialism, as we have just explained it. No Catholic, lay or clerical, would dream of intervening in the present controversy on coal mines with a declaration that their nationalisation must be regarded by Catholics as absolutely immoral, that under all circumstances it is contrary to the law of God. Under the pressure of war necessities the State became the owner of vast industries, and took over the control of many more; and no one questioned the State's right to do so. In peace time the

State owns great tracts of Irish land, and it is part owner of many thousands of other acres. It owns and manages the posts, telegraphs and telephones, which it acquired, by Act of Parliament and purchase, from private companies. We have already advanced not a little way on the road of State Socialism; and it is one and the same principle which underlies and justifies much of what has been already done, and which is believed to recommend the further developments we are considering. There is no essential difference between telegraphs and railways; between ownership of coal mines and ownership of factories; between land owned by the Congested Districts Board or the Land Commission and any other land. If the public need or public welfare can justify nationalisation in any of these cases, it can justify it in all; the only issue reasonably open to doubt or controversy will be one of facts and circumstances.

Besides, it has never been a teaching of the Church, or a common doctrine of her schools, that private ownership of property such as coal and other minerals, railways and other high roads, the very soil itself, is prescribed by any natural or divine law. The great Catholic theologians have always held, with one or other exception, that private ownership is of natural right in the sense that it is allowed by nature; that it is singularly helpful to the well-being of civil society; that, under ordinary social conditions, it is necessary for social peace and progress; and that, under those conditions, and while they last, "division of goods" (*divisio bonorum*), and specifically "division of land" (*divisio agrorum*), should be the rule amongst mankind. But the rule is not absolute, as we have already pointed out: not independent of time and place and other circumstances. It is based upon considerations of general usefulness: and if the welfare of the people requires, it may be set aside.

As, then, in time of war the State may expropriate and control private owners, in so far as may be necessary for

its existence and welfare, so too may it, in time of peace, if and in so far as the welfare of the people makes expropriation necessary.

But not without fitting compensation, if compensation be possible. If it were true, as some labour leaders assert, that private ownership of land and mines and railways is essentially unjust, then confiscation would be a lawful remedy: you cannot in justice be bound to make compensation to a thief or to the heirs of a thief, when you claim the restoration of your own property. But there is no warrant for the assertion, and no Catholic may allow it. Private ownership of land and mines may be as lawful as private ownership of the bread I eat and the water that I drink. And, if I am in lawful possession of any of these things, there is no authority on earth which may justly deprive me of it, unless for the common weal, and with due compensation. I stand in need of food and clothing: but I may not deprive others, the lawful owners, of them without payment, if I have the means to pay. And the argument of Pope Leo XIII., in a Letter quoted at the beginning of this article, is conclusive:—If a workman "lives sparingly, saves money, and invests his savings in land, the land in such case is only his wages under another form." (*Great Encyclicals*, p. 210). The Pope does not say that the workman has necessarily a right to invest his savings in land: there may be no land available; and, even were there, there is no greater natural right to invest savings in land than in any other security—for instance, in Government telegraphs and telephones. But the Pope does teach that, if he do put his savings into land, because he so chooses, and there is no lack of the commodity, State monopoly, or dearth of vendors, to prevent him, then the workman owns the land as he had owned his wages: it is as much robbery to deprive him, without compensation, of the one as of the other. And there are many other titles by which land may lawfully be held as well as by the investment of a worker's wages. If, there-

fore, the State should judge it necessary or expedient, in the interest of the whole people, to nationalise the property of individuals or of private corporations, it can justly do so only by purchasing the property, by making compensation to the lawful owners.

Nationalisation, then, of all a country's sources of production and means of distribution, Socialism so defined and limited, presents no difficulty in principle to a Catholic. If the manual workers, who form, and must always form, the great majority of our populations, whose toil is generally so hopeless, whose privations are so many and so intense, whose share is so insignificant in all the wealth which they produce—if they are to find in it a remedy for the evils that oppress them, the Church and her teaching will place no hindrance in their way. That it is likely to prove a remedy is believed to be improbable by many of those best qualified to judge; past experience gives little ground for hope. But Catholic teaching sets no obstacle in the way of further and larger experiments.

P. Finlay.

THE IRISH LAW OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION.

BY EOIN MACNEILL.

Professor of Early Irish History, University College, Dublin.

[The conclusion to which this paper leads is here stated in advance of the evidence :—

In ancient Irish law, a person eligible to succeed (rigdomna) to a kingship must belong to the same DERBFINE *as a king who had already reigned.*

The DERBFINE *was a family of four generations, a man, his sons, grandsons, and great grandsons.*

Among the persons thus lawfully eligible, the succession was determined by election.

Incidental to the subject is the conclusion that communal land tenure did not obtain in ancient Ireland.]

STUDENTS of the Irish annals are familiar with the word *rigdomna* (*rigdamna*, *rioghdhamhna*). The English equivalent usually given is "royal heir." Stokes, in his edition of "The Annals of Tigernach," renders *rigdomna* by "crownprince." This is too modern and too definite. Even the term "heir" gives a rather inaccurate rendering. The only excuse for these translations is the desirability of having a short technical expression to represent a technical term that occurs so frequently in the Annals. It is well known that the succession in an Irish dynasty was normally elective, but that eligibility was confined to the royal kindred. Hence *rigdomna* signifies "eligible prince of the blood royal." The terms "heir" and "crownprince" seem to designate a single individual, whereas it is known that, in respect of any particular succession, a number of persons might be and usually were eligible.

The word *domna* or *damna* signified cause or material, the matter out of which something might arise or something might be made: *damna* (*m*)*bróin*, "a cause of

sorrow," "something to sorrow for"; *damna n-epscuip*, "material of a bishop," "the 'makings' of a bishop," *i.e.*, "a person suitable or qualified to become a bishop." In later Irish *adbar*, *adhbhar* is used in the same way—*adhbhar bróin*, "a cause of sorrow"; *adhbhar sagairt* (a current modern expression), "the 'makings' of a priest," *i.e.*, "a person designed for priesthood." So already in the annals we find *adbar rig* used as a non-technical equivalent of *rígdomna*.

Those who imagine that an Irish petty state formed a tribal group and was the "clan" of which the petty king was the recognised head must see the necessity of fixing some bounds to the degree of kinship to the reigning line that constituted eligibility. Apart from this popular fiction, which, like others of its kind, finds voice in works of serious historical purpose, it becomes evident, when one traces the recorded course of succession in any Irish dynasty, that there were limits, and fairly narrow limits, to the range of eligibility. Moreover, out of every hundred men, other than ecclesiastics, that are named in the annals, probably ninety-nine belong to some dynastic family; yet only a comparative few are entitled *rígdomna*. Nay, side by side with those who are called *rígdomna*, there are numberless instances of men who can be proved to belong to the royal kindred, and whose descent from kings can be traced, yet who are not called *rígdomna*. This shows that there was a definite recognised limit to eligibility.

It is not that those only who afterwards became kings are called *rígdomna*. On the contrary, in all but a few instances, the term is applied to those who never became kings. In all but a few instances the word *rígdomna* is used only in recording the obit of the person so designated.

The close limitation usually found in the line of succession indicates *a priori* the probability that a certain limited degree of kinship to those who had reigned was necessary to make a man eligible. The custom of "tanistry," or preliminary election of a successor before the kingship

became vacant, is nowhere in evidence until a time considerably later than the Feudal Invasion, and no doubt was a consequence of contact with the feudal regime. The fact that the succession to every feudal lordship was regulated in advance may have operated by example on the Irish practice; but the provision of a successor in advance may also have recommended itself as a precaution against the obvious advantage that an enemy might take of an undecided succession and of a community divided between rival claims. At all events it can be seen that the more ancient usage was to decide the succession after it became vacant, and this usage is afterwards found side by side with "tanistry," perhaps more usual than "tanistry," down to the final extinction of the Irish polity. It is likely that English writers, finding an Irish custom of tanistry, supposed it to be the universal Irish custom—a sort of fallacy common enough when the history of a nation or the description of its customs is undertaken by foreigners.

If, then, *rígdomna* had a less precise signification than "royal heir" or "crownprince" and a more precise signification than "kinsman of the royal line," the limitations of its meaning, in the absence of authentic definition, can only be learned from a comprehensive examination of its usage. The examination which I have made covers all the instances found in the "Annals of Ulster" and in the "Annals of Tigernach" for the period preceding the landing of Henry II.

I propose to embody the whole list of instances in a continuation of this paper. I have classified them under the dynasties to which they belong. In every instance, where the annals afford evidence of the degree of kinship between the *rígdomna* and a king who reigned before him, I have stated the degree. Where this evidence is not found in the annals, I have sought it in the genealogies. It cannot be too much insisted on that the genealogies are a necessary supplement to the annals and throw much light

on the bare and discontinuous catalogue of events compiled by the chroniclers. They are a storehouse of ancient legend and tradition, and often supply material of the highest critical importance for the study of the earliest part of our history. They are, moreover, a rich mine for the philologist, containing the vocabulary of a copious and very ancient nomenclature; and here and there they embody passages of continuous prose, some of which can be shown from internal evidence to date as early as the eighth and even the seventh century. On all these grounds I make urgent plea for the publication of the entire body of our ancient genealogical literature, which is not to be dismissed, as the late Dr. Atkinson in his introduction to the Royal Irish Academy's "Facsimile" edition of the Book of Leinster sought to dismiss it, as a mere collection of names of persons about whom nobody could hope to say with assurance whether they ever had any existence.

No instance of the term *rígdomna* has been found earlier than A.D. 867, but from that date onward the term appears with great frequency in the annals; there are eleven instances in the period 867-900. Before this time a Norse kingdom had been established in Dublin, and Norse rulers had been set up in the Isle of Man and in Argyle and the Hebrides. In these early Norse communities lawful succession to the princedom appears to have been in general from father to son, and probably to the firstborn son, since in the later Norse Hebridean dynasty (1150-1499) and in the succession of Gallóglách "constables" in Ireland, a particular individual is sometimes found designated as his father's "heir," *i.e.*, lawful successor. Possibly the contrast of this law or custom caused the Irish chroniclers to give express recognition to the potential right of succession in Irish dynasties.

In the majority of the instances in which the descent has been traced a *rígdomna* is son of a king. In a considerable number he is grandson. Instances of a *rígdomna* third in descent from a king, but whose father and grand-

father are not recorded to have reigned, are not rare, especially in the more important dynasties; and it may be remarked that by far the greater number of the instances belong to the greater dynasties, though these were few in number, so that the designation of a *rígdomna* in the case of the numerous petty dynasties was unusual in the annals.

Three instances of a *rígdomna* fourth in descent from the latest ancestor recorded as reigning are found in the case of Munster. All belong to the line of Dál Cais. If it were possible to form a complete regnal list of the kings of Dál Cais, it might be found that in each case a less remote ancestor had reigned. Two similar instances are found in the dynasty of Ailech. Here again, there was doubtless a petty dynasty, distinct from the overkingship of the Ailech group.

It is clear, then, that the title of *rígdomna* and the normal law of eligibility might extend to the great-grandsons of a king, that is, to four generations including an ancestor who was king. An ancestor, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons constituted in Irish law a definite group called *derbfine* or "true family," and all the [adult male ?] members of this group were heirs, in regard of personal property, perhaps also in regard of divisible real property. So far as I have observed, the *derbfine* had no existence as a recognised social community, but was merely ascertained from time to time for legal purposes, such as the division of an inheritance or the assessment of a heritable debt. I think it likely, too, that the redistribution of land, about which so much has been said by writers on early Irish social customs, had reference mainly to such groups of joint heirs; for it is evident that, through the deaths of the older members of the *derbfine* and the growth of a fifth generation to heritable capacity, each *derbfine* must have in time resolved itself into new groups of the same kind. Certainly the notion, which some writers have seriously adopted, that the whole territory of an Irish petty state was periodically redistributed among the

people is not supported by any evidence known to me. If such vast agrarian resettlements ever took place, we should surely expect to read somewhere of an instance, but the thing is wholly improbable in theory, and would have been impossible in practice. No large community would consent to be treated in this way; no Irish petty state possessed executive machinery adequate to such operations; and the whole power of each state belonged to the landholders, who were by no means likely to use it for their own extreme inconvenience and confusion. Periodical redistribution would have been necessary in the case of lands belonging to a *fine* group (whether this was the *gelfhine* of three generations, the *derbfine* of four, the *iarfine* of five, or the *indfhine* of six generations), as often as the dying out of the oldest generation in the group or the arrival at heritable capacity of a new generation necessitated a reconstitution of the group.

If my view of the redistribution of possessions within the *derbfine* is correct, it follows that no man, by reason of redistribution, could suffer diminution of his property or goods; whereas, if the process of redistribution had extended over a whole political community, many individuals would inevitably have suffered loss, and the social instinct would have prevented such a practice from taking root in customary law.

An account of distribution of property within the *derbfine* will be found in a legal text, published by Kuno Meyer in *Eriu*, vol. 1, part 2, "on the distribution of *cró* and *díbad*, *i.e.*, the property left by a deceased person." The text deals specially with property[1] recovered by legal seizure from an external *tuath*. Such property was divided into three parts. A third went to the chiefs in every degree above the deceased; doubtless (1) in compensation

[1] Evidently *cró* here means compensation due for a life: "the king . . . takes a hostage for the liability of the person who slays his man, till he pays him the *cró*, and the *cró* is then divided." *Díbad* seems to be the technical word for "death without issue," "failure in the male line"; but, in the case of heritable goods, it may mean the portion not subject to testamentary disposition.

for their loss of a liege, and (2) in consideration of their part in making recovery and administration of the property. A third went to the hosting or *posse* who made the levy. The remaining third went to the *derbfine* of the deceased. "And the third that the *derbfine* has attained, how is it divided? The answer is certain. It is divided from father and son [of the deceased] backwards to grandfather, and in the opposite direction back again [from grandfather] to *ingin ar méraibh*.[1] Father and son, in the first place, a half to them exclusively. Father's brother and [*his*] son,[2] they make a fresh division again to the extent of a half, as long as anything remains. What remains over [namely, the half corresponding to the last-named half] is then divided in three. One-third to a brother [*i.e.*, to all the brothers], and what is still left is again divided in three. One-third to the person that is nearest [of kin] to him [the deceased], following the same order, except that it goes by the number of heads of taking and not by the number of heads of heirs.[3] And what remains finally over the thirds, that is, when it has reached the grandfather backwards, howsoever little remains over the shares, goes according to the number of heads of heirs up again in the opposite direction as far as father and son, and they come in one like another, however small each man's share of it may be." It is not easy to recover the

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[1] This expression must mean the ultimate limit of the *derbfine* in the direction of descent. The literal sense is "nail in front of fingers." The hand is the symbol of the *derbfine*, the palm representing the common ancestor, and the joints of the fingers the three generations of his descendants.

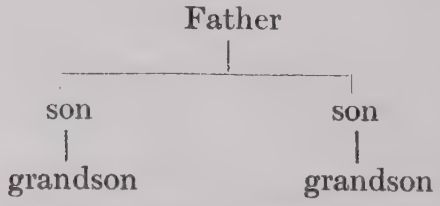
[2] The names of relatives must be regarded as generic, *i.e.*, "father's brother" means all brothers of the father, and so on. The share of this group was divided among its members in certain definite fractions, and if this division left a surplus, the surplus was again distributed in definite fractions, "as long as anything remained."

[3] I take this difficult passage to mean that, in the division of the portion in question, the nearest of kin, after the brothers who received the previous portion, are ascertained, and that the division is made equally among them instead of giving a preferential share to some according to their proximity of kin or their seniority. It is clear from the wording that "the person next of kin" denotes not an individual but a class, viz., all those related to the deceased in the next degree to brother

exact meaning of expressions here which, since they are couched in simple vocabulary, doubtless carried a clear customary sense to those who used them; nor are the details of present concern. We find the limits of the *derbfine* definitely enough indicated. It is assumed that the deceased has a grandfather alive and also a son alive. The *derbfine* in this case extends backwards to the grandfather and no farther. When the distribution reaches the grandfather it turns downwards again in the other direction—*co senathair for culo ocus frithrusc a frithisi.* It includes thus the head of the family group, his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

It is clear from this tract that the right of succession to property worked upwards as well as downwards within the *derbfine*, so that the father or grandfather of a man might belong, no less than his children, to the legal group of his joint heirs. The same principle held good in regard of succession to the kingship. For example, in the kingship of Munster after Brian, the annalists regard the descendants of Brian's brother Donn Cuan as eligible, *i.e.*, they trace the right of succession from Brian back to his father Cennétig and then downward in the line of Cennétig's son Donn Cuan.

There was a more limited family, the *geilfine*, including, according to O'Donovan, "the father and his two sons and two grandsons," and thus it "consisted of five persons." I take it that "five persons" indicates a graphic view of the group:—



and that "two sons" means "more than one son," "as many sons as may be." The *derbfine* extends to another generation, "the two grandsons and their two sons."

"Son," "grandson," and "grandson's son," denote no particular individuals, and "two" merely indicates plurality.[1]

We might naturally expect that the law of succession to office would bear the closest possible analogy to the law of succession to property; and the instances of the use of *rígdomna* are sufficiently corroborative. There was this difference between office and property, that office was normally indivisible. Hence an election had to be made from among the group of heirs. The account of the election of Aodh Ruadh Ua Domhnaill given by his biographer Lughaidh Ua Cléirigh is perhaps sufficiently typical of the process. The right to elect apparently belonged to the whole body of freemen. A general meeting was called. The greater nobles held a conference apart, and when they came to a conclusion they made known their choice to the popular assembly, which no doubt was usually guided by them in its decision.[2] The many instances of joint-kings in the annals arose probably from compromise of rival claims.[3]

This Irish, or rather Celtic, law of succession—for a similar custom obtained in ancient Wales—while it ostensibly enabled the best man of a number to be chosen king, was in fact the weakest feature of Irish polity. A doubtful or disputed succession to kingship has at all times been a prominent cause of the gravest political disorders. It is sufficient to refer to the wars between rival Caesars, the war between Stephen and Maud in England, the

[1] In other words, "five persons" means "five categories." *E.g.*, with regard to a grandson, the five persons were: (1) himself, and also his brothers, who, since the law of primogeniture did not obtain, were on a par of right with him; (2) his father; (3) his grandfather; (4) his paternal uncle, *i.e.*, as many paternal uncles as he might have; (5) the son of his paternal uncle, *i.e.*, all the sons of all his paternal uncles. All these together constituted his *gelfhine*.

[2] The assembly of the nobles appears to have included bishops and ollamhs. See *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1432, on the election of Eoghan Ua Neill to be king of Ulster.

[3] The thing was frequent enough to give rise to a special term *lethrí*, which should not be translated "half king." Just as *leath-lámh*, *leath-shúil*, *leath-chos*, etc., mean "one of a pair of arms, eyes, legs," etc., so *leth-ri* means "joint king."

Plantagenet wars in France, the Wars of the Roses, the Jacobite risings and intrigues, the wars of the Scottish succession before the battle of Bannockburn, and the wars of the Spanish succession, long past and recent, as examples of an effect frequent in history. In ancient Ireland, there was always material for such evils. The Irish dynastic families were remarkably prolific, and since legal eligibility, apart from the chances of unlawful ambition, extended to three generations from every holder of the kingship, the only practical limit to rival claims was the degree of domestic or external support that the various eligible princes could command. The success of a candidate must usually have depended on his gaining a strong faction of supporters in advance. The multitude of petty kingdoms in Ireland—more than a hundred are enumerated in the Book of Rights—prevented the development of ministerial functions. Each petty king was territorial lord, president of the assembly, judge, and military commander of his people. Of these capacities the last was the one which, in the popular mind, most required to be tested. To be fit to reign, a man must be fit to command in war. Hence it was the interest of eligible princes, hoping to become kings, to exhibit their prowess in warfare and to seek opportunities for the recognition of their valour and military aptitude. The means to this end were familiar. "The first adventure of a young lord"—a proverbial event—consisted of calling out his adherents in arms, invading a neighbouring territory and compelling battle by the simple expedient of sweeping the country of its cattle. The *crech* or cattle-spoil was then driven off towards the invader's homeland. He covered the drive with his forces. If he was able to bring it off unmolested, he obtained wherewith to reward his followers and increase his reputation. If he was overtaken by the outrising of the plundered territory, a battle ensued. A victory for the invading prince was a twofold gain. He won the spoil and became a hero. Defeat was

still more decisive, for the leader of a beaten army seldom left the field alive. Plunder in the ordinary sense was not the object of those military operations, of which cattle-spoiling is an oft-recorded feature. At times a refused tribute was the cause of an invasion and a levying of spoil.[1] In general, cattle-lifting was the recognised means of challenging to battle.

If the custom of succession was thus fertile in engendering external quarrels, it was still more fertile in the production of internal strife. Writers who have much to say about the hostilities between "clan and clan" or between "tribe and tribe" in ancient Ireland, but who would find it difficult to describe the constitution of "clan" or "tribe" from historical evidence, habitually overlook the fact, so prominent in the Irish annals, that most of the warfare of the Irish took place not between the rulers of hostile states but between the opposing factions in this or that state, especially within the larger grouped states or over-kingdoms. Nay, even when there is war between kings, the cause and the opportunity can often be traced to the existence of rival dynastic factions within a kingdom. In such cases one or other of the parties, or both parties, were prone to seek and accept such help as they could find; and, even without invitation, a neighbouring potentate would naturally find in their dissensions the best occasion of forwarding his own ambition. It was thus that Edward I. behaved towards Scotland and Louis XIV. towards Spain. But for the habitual silence of the Irish annalists with regard to the causes and circumstances of the events that they relate, there can be no doubt that we should be able to trace a large proportion, as we can trace some, of the wars between states to this origin.

The extension of eligibility over a family made possible the existence of more than one legitimate dynastic line in

[1] Another cause is shown in the law-tract already quoted—the exaction of compensation for injury from an external community.

any kingdom, and there are conspicuous instances of the realization of this possibility. The point may be illustrated by a diagram :—

A { **B C** D E **F** G **H** I J **K** L M N **O** P
  { b c **d e** f **g** h i **j** k l **m n** o **p**

Here, A stands for a king from whom two lines of descendants have sprung. The successive letters B, C, D, b, c, d, stand for successive generations. The letters in heavy type in each line indicate those generations in each line which have secured election to the kingship. According to the law of eligibility, as I have interpreted it, each line could maintain its lawful claim to the succession, so long as not more than two successive generations elapsed without obtaining the kingship.

We may perceive here an additional incentive to the violent assertion of a claim. Let us take the case of F in the upper line, representing the great-grandsons of C, who has reigned. If F fails to secure the kingship, this whole line ceases thenceforward to be eligible, and falls from the dynastic rank into the condition of nobility only—and nobility in ancient Ireland was based not on descent alone but on descent and wealth combined. It is evident, too, from the history of the dynastic families that an Irish king, though his authority was by no means unlimited, had large opportunities for the aggrandisement of his kinsfolk. In every part of Ireland we find the dynastic families gradually acquiring local territorial lordship over the older nobility, who are depressed by degrees and often gradually disappear into complete obscurity ; and the new order of landed nobles so created may in turn be submerged under a later layer of the dynastic kindred. These changes are not seen to be effected by any form of expropriation or to be accompanied by any degree of violence. They take place so tacitly and insensibly that they are never chronicled. To take an example, we find the country now called Tyrone occupied, down to the

ninth century, by the nobles of the Airgialla. Then the kings of Ailech become dominant in that region, and in time the chief landed nobility belong to the sub-septs of Cenél nEogain, such as Cenél mBinnig, Cenél Feradaig, Cenél Maic Erca, etc. Similar changes can be traced in other regions. The facts are susceptible, I think, of only one explanation. Any king who would have sought to provide for his own kinsfolk by the expropriation of his subordinate chiefs would have driven these into a revolt which he had no power to resist. The change in its early stages must have been almost insensible—too slight to appear oppressive. It must have operated in this way: the king devolved his lordship over a part of his territory on one of his kinsmen, creating this man a mean lord between himself and the existing lord or lords, subjecting the latter, perhaps, to no grave increase of burdens or obligations. That an Irish king was as fully lord of his land as any feudal proprietor can be proved by many instances. His power of making territorial grants is abundantly exemplified. Grants by written charter are not known to have been made except to monastic bodies, and the absence of grants in writing may be responsible for a mistaken notion that the power to make grants did not exist and was not habitually exercised. Instances of expropriation are extremely rare, and only the habitual creation of mean lordships can explain how, without violence and without resistance, numerous branches of the dynastic lines became the superior landed nobility over a large part of the country.

Hence we can understand the eagerness for retaining legal eligibility to the kingship in a particular kindred. It was not merely that one individual of the kindred might become king, or that the rest might enjoy the reflected honour. The whole material status of the kindred was concerned. If they failed to secure the kingship within three generations for one of themselves, they dropped into a lower social order, somewhat emphatically characterized in the saying *cúig glúine ó rígh go rámhainn*, "five genera-

tions from king to spade." Thus the fourth generation from a king, as denoted by the F of our diagram, was likely to make its utmost efforts to escape exclusion from the succession; while a rival line would hardly be less determined to secure itself finally in the rights and privileges of kingship.

The Leinster succession affords a good example of a multiple dynasty. The outcome is better seen in tabular form. The order in vertical column indicates the succession in generations, not in all cases directly from father to son. For instance, Murchad in the seventh generation was son of Find, son of Mael Mórda, son of Muirecán. He was thus "at the finger-nails," and had he not become king, his son Mael Mórda would have been ineligible. During more than three centuries, the succession was legally maintained in three distinct lines, and what is still more remarkable, each line succeeded in obtaining the kingship at least once in every generation of nine generations. All the names in this table are names of recorded kings of Leinster.

(1) Murchad +727

Generation.			
1.	(2) Dunchad +728	(3) Faelan +738	(4) Muiredach +760
2.	(5) Cellach +776	(6) Ruaidri +785	(7) Bran +795
3.	(8) Finnechta +808	(9) Muiredach +829	(10) Cellach +834
4.	(11) Bran +838	(14) Muirecan +863	(12) Lorcan +848 (13) Tuathal +854 (15) Dunlaing +865 ?
5.	(19) Muiredach +885	(17) Domnall +884 (20) Cerball +909	(16) Ailill +871 (18 ?) Coirpre
6.	(22) Faelan +942	(24) Broen +947	(21) Augaire +917
7.	(23) Lorcan +943	(26) Murchad +972	(25) Tuathal +958
8.	(28) Domnall +984	(30) Mael Morda +1014	(27) Augaire +978 (31) Dunlaing +1014
9.	(29) Donnchad, dep. 999	(33) Broen, dep. 1018	(32) Donncuan +1016 (34) Augaire +1024 (35) Donnchad +1036

From the three sons of Murchad (+727) are named the three septs, Ui Dúnchada, whose territory lay immediately west of the Norse territory of Dublin, Ui Faeláin, in the north-eastern part of Co. Kildare, and Ui Muiredaig in the south of Co. Kildare. The Norman invasion brought about the expropriation of these septs. Uí Dúnchada disappeared; but, so real and effective was the *altum dominium* in Irish law and observance, the dispossessed dynasties of Ui Faeláin and Ui Muiredaig thenceforward entered into possession of the ancient territory of Fortuatha Laigen—the Wicklow mountain region—which was previously ruled by a subordinate dynasty, and held rule there until the seventeenth century, being represented in their later period respectively by the families of Ua Broin (O'Byrne) and Ua Tuathail (O'Toole).

The kingship of Ailech, after the reign of Niall Glúndub (+919), was held by the descendants of Niall and of his brother Domnall (+915) until 1083. Thenceforward the line of Domnall was excluded, and the legitimate succession was confined to the line of Niall. In this line there were two principal branches. One of these took the surname Ua Néill from Niall Glúndub. The other took the surname Mac Lochlainn—sometimes varied to Mac Maic Lochlainn and Ua Lochlainn—from Lochlann, grandson of Niall. From the death of Flaithbertach in 1036, the line of Ua Néill was excluded from the succession until about 1176, when Aed Ua Néill, apparently in spite of the Ua Lochlainns, got possession of the kingship. He was slain, however, by Ua Lochlainn in 1177. After this there was an irregular alternation in the two lines, until at length, in 1241, the Ua Lochlainn succession was terminated by an event in which the complete extirpation of the eligible men (the *derbfine*) of the name appears to have been attempted, if not accomplished: "The battle of Caimeirghe, which Brian Ó Néill and Mael Sechlainn Ó Domnaill, the king of Cenél Conaill, fought against Domnall Mag Lochlainn, king of Tyrone; in which were

slain Domnall Mag Lochlainn, *and ten of his own derbfine along with him*, and all the chiefs of Cenél Eogain, and many other nobles likewise ; and Brian O Néill took the kingship after him."

The editor of the Annals of Ulster has translated *derbfine* in this passage by " tribe," a word which has been used to obscure and misrepresent many facts of Irish history, and which in this instance might well conceal the real significance of the original from readers who have to depend on translations for their understanding of the Irish chronicles. Note that the *derbfine* in question contained at least eleven men of military age : showing clearly that, in the law-tract quoted above, terms like " son," " brother," etc., denote " all sons," " all brothers," etc.—a usage which O'Donovan fails to understand when, in his Supplement to O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, he seeks to explain the meaning of *geilfhine*, *deirbhfine*, *iarfine*, and *innfine* ; though he is upon the true interpretation in explaining *ingen ar meraib* as " the youngest *branch* [not member] of a family [=*derbfine*]."

Eoin MacNeill.

SPIRITUALISM AND ITS DANGERS.

I.

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IN an "explanatory addendum" inserted in the tenth edition of *Raymond*, Sir Oliver Lodge, replying to certain criticisms, remarks :—

> One difficulty which good people feel about allowing themselves to take comfort from the evidence [*i.e.*, the evidence for survival, obtained through mediums] is the attitude of the Church to it and the fear that we are encroaching on dangerous and forbidden ground. I have no wish to shirk the ecclesiastical point of view : it is indeed important, for the Church has great influence. But I must claim that Science can pay no attention to ecclesiastical notice-boards : we must examine wherever we can, and I do not agree that any region of inquiry can legitimately be barred out by authority.
>
> Occasionally the accusation is made that the phenomena we encounter are the work of devils ; and we are challenged to say how we know that they are not of evil character. To that the only answer is the ancient one—"by their fruits." I will not elaborate it. St. Paul gave a long list of the fruits of the spirit.[1]

Sir Oliver clearly means to imply that the fruits of spiritualism are in substance identical with the fruits of the Spirit—charity, joy, peace, etc., as enumerated by St. Paul. Perhaps we may go with him so far as to agree that these virtues are naturally fostered by a belief in immortality and all which that involves. But spiritualism, after all, is not the only creed which teaches that man was created for higher ends than his individual well-being in the world in which he finds himself. On the other hand, if the Church has banned spiritualism, she has not banned psychic research, neither has she, despite a widespread impression to the contrary, pronounced all the phenomena of mediumship and the various forms of automatism to be

[1] Sir Oliver Lodge : *Raymond*, 10th edn., 1918, p. xi.

necessarily diabolic in origin. The "ecclesiastical notice-boards" complained of do not, then, bear the legend, "Trespassers will be prosecuted," but they are, on the other hand, very necessary danger signals. They correspond exactly to those which are meant to restrain the public from crowding in their thousands upon a sheet of rotten and treacherous ice. Though the skilful and wary skater may be able to dart along in comparative safety, the neophyte cannot do so, still less a troop of neophytes, and we should have a poor opinion of the man who makes a grievance of such a prohibition and exhorts his fellow-citizens not to submit to tyrannous interference. Undoubtedly the Church regards spiritualism with profound distrust, and it is precisely in its evil fruits, or at best its barren and deceptive promises, that she finds the justification of her attitude. It is my purpose in the present article to try to set out concisely some of the chief grounds for this condemnation, but before going further I should like to make one quotation from a distinguished foreign scientist, to show that, in declaring that Catholics under suitable conditions are not debarred from psychical research, I am only stating what is well known even to anti-clericals on the Continent. Dr. Joseph Maxwell, of Bordeaux, in his important work, *Les Phénomènes psychiques*, writes as follows :—

> The intolerance of certain savants is equalled by that of certain dogmas. To take an example, Catholicism considers psychical phenomena as the work of the devil. Is it worth while at this hour to discuss so obsolete a theory ? I think not. However, superior ecclesiastical authorities, with the tact and sentiment of opportunism which they often show, permit many Catholics to undertake the experimental study of psychical facts. I cannot blame them for recommending prudent abstention to the mass of the faithful ; spiritism appears to me to be an adversary with which they will have to reckon very seriously some day.[1]

Now the dangers I propose to discuss—the fruits, in

[1] J. Maxwell : *Metaphysical Phenomena*, Eng. trans., p. 396. This translation is introduced by prefatory notes both from Professor Richet and from Sir Oliver Lodge.

other words, of attempted communication with the spirits of the dead—may be ranged under the following five headings. It will be convenient perhaps to give them in this summary form before proceeding to consider them more in detail. Experience shows, then, so Catholics contend—

(1) That in these attempts to communicate influences are encountered which are directly evil and malignant.

(2) That the communications themselves are deceptive and unreliable.

(3) That systems of religious belief are assumed or expounded by the spirits, which, while often mutually contradictory, are nearly always subversive of Catholic teaching.

(4) That such pretended communications after seventy years have added nothing to our knowledge and have brought no benefit to mankind.

(5) That the dangers to health and to mental and moral sanity are manifold.

I.

Let me deal first with the question of directly malignant influences. So far as I am aware, none of the more representative spiritualists, from the days of Judge Edmonds to the present time, question the reality of these unpleasant communicators. The *Spirit Teachings* of Mr. W. Stainton Moses, the eighth edition of which was brought out in 1918 by the London Spiritualist Alliance, may be looked upon as a classic in this matter. Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, and a number of other leaders in psychical research, have always regarded this medium as a witness above suspicion. Sir William Barrett has written of him recently : " I knew Mr. Moses personally for many years and, like other of his friends, I believe he was wholly incapable of deceit.[1]" Well, it would hardly be possible to speak more strongly or more copiously

[1] Barrett : *On the Threshold of the Unseen*, p. 73.

about "the foes of God and man, enemies of goodness, ministers of evil," [1] than does Mr. Moses echoing his spirit guides. He does not call these evil beings devils, because in his view they are the souls of men once on earth that have been "low in taste and impure in habit," souls which are "not changed save in the accident of being freed from the body," but "they have banded themselves together, under the leadership of intelligence still more evil, to malign us (*i.e.*, the highly developed and beneficent spirits) and to hamper our work."[2] This is a fundamental point in Mr. Moses' *Spirit Teachings*. It is dwelt on with emphasis in his first chapter, and solemn warnings against the danger of intercourse with these beings recur constantly throughout the book. The medium was evidently at one time so much impressed that he almost came to believe that "the result of Spiritualism is not for good." But the control, "Imperator," replies: "You err, friend. Blame not us that the lower spirits manifest for those who bid them welcome. Blame man's insensate folly, which will choose the low and grovelling rather than the pure and elevated" (p. 99). But still more explicitly "Imperator" declares at a later stage:—

> It is the old battle between what you call the good and the evil. . . . Into the ranks of that opposing army gravitate spirits of all degrees of malignity, wickedness, cunning and deceit: those who are actively spurred on by the hatred of light which an unenlightened spirit has. . . . The poor wreck whose lusts have survived the death of that body in which and for which alone he lived, have survived the means of direct bodily gratification, finds his resource in seizing on an impressionable medium, and goading him on to sin, so that he may get such poor enjoyment as alone remains to him.[3]

But are not the majority of potential mediums, or sensitives, apt to be "impressionable," and consequently are they not particularly exposed to this form of danger? In another work of Mr. Moses, also reprinted not long since by the London Spiritualist Alliance, in a section headed: "The Gates being ajar a Motley Crowd rushes

[1] *Spirit Teachings* (8th edn.), p. 13. [2] *Ib.*, p. 13. [3] *Ib.*, p. 243.

in," we read how, "unfortunately for us," the spirits that are "least progressive, least developed, least spiritual, and most material and earthly, hover round the confines," and are the most eager to seek communication with living men.[1] He tells us also that "in proportion to the undeveloped character of the spirit will be its power over gross matter, its cunning and in some cases its malignity."[2] The picture he draws of the fate of many mediums—he seems to imply that this is almost the more common experience—is not an attractive one.

> Too often what happens is this. A number of persons assemble, most of them densely ignorant of any condition to be observed; some animated by mere curiosity, a few by the dumb desire to see what can be had through the only source open to them as evidence of a future life; all, in nine cases out of ten, unfit, for one or more of many causes, for the solemn work they have undertaken. . . . The burden is more than he (the medium) can bear; and if he be a model of integrity, a very storehouse of psychic power, he becomes distressed and broken down. His nerves are shattered; he is open to the assaults of all the malicious, tricksy spirits that his vocation brings him in contact with, and as a consequence he is in grievous peril . . . of moral, or mental, or physical deterioration. Then comes the necessary sequel: temptation, obsession, fraud, buffoonery, and all that we so lament as associated with phenomenal spiritualism.[3]

Now, of course, we are perfectly free to believe either (i.) that Stainton Moses (as Mr. F. Podmore and Dr. Tuckett not obscurely hint) was a fraudulent person himself; or (ii.) that he was honestly deluded by the figments of his own subconsciousness; or (iii.) that he actually received messages from the other world which warranted these statements. But it is the men who hold this third view, men like Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir A. Conan Doyle, who reproach the Church with her narrow intolerance in condemning intercourse with the dead. Consequently against such objectors she is free to reply: "On your own showing the medium is beset with spirits

[1] *Spirit Identity*, p. 16. [2] *Spirit Teachings*, p. 230. [3] *Spirit Identity*, p. 21.

who are malignant, depraved, cunning and untruthful. You admit that it is perilous to put oneself in communication with such influences. The evil is certain; the good problematical. Surely, then, it is the part of wisdom to abstain."

Neither must it be supposed that Stainton Moses stood alone in his recognition of the power and malice of these evil influences. Judge Edmonds, in the very early days of the movement, held much the same language, and we have from him a most curious account of an incident which may well serve as an illustration of this aspect of mediumistic experience. Edmonds was an American whose eminence as a jurist was spoken of with sincere respect by Lord Brougham. His integrity of conduct and the honesty of his spiritualistic convictions, for which he made great sacrifices, have never been questioned. He tells us how one day, holding a sitting with his intimate friend, Dr. Dexter, who acted as his medium, Dexter was suddenly controlled, *i.e.*, possessed, by a spirit which purported to be that of a man whom Edmonds had lately sentenced to death for a brutal murder. He describes how Dr. Dexter's hand, in the trance state, wrote with violent contortions sentences of angry abuse. But this was not all. "Several times," Edmonds goes on, "the pencil, paper and books were thrown at my head with great violence. Dr. Dexter's fist was doubled, and thrust out towards me as if he wanted to strike me, and once or twice he looked at me with concentrated feelings of hate and defiance." The fact that Judge Edmonds claims to have tamed this brutal spirit by forbearance and a fearless demeanour does not alter the alarming character of such an experience. Neither, it would seem, are these manifestations of malignity on the part of the spirits altogether things of the past.

There is a little book recently published on this subject

[1] Edmonds and Dexter: *Spiritualism*, New York, 1853–1855, Vol. II., pp. 511–512.

which seems to me of very high value both from the clear presentment of the results of attempted communication with the spirit world and from the frank admission of difficulties and dangers. Under the title *Voices from the Void*, Mrs. Travers Smith, who is the eldest daughter of the late Professor Edward Dowden and the wife of a distinguished Dublin physician, has printed her impressions of a long series of personal experiments in automatism. From the outset one is led to recognise the sobriety of judgment with which the writer approaches these problems and the care which she takes to avoid exaggeration. I may confess that I myself am the more impressed with her trustworthiness because in its general character her account exactly agrees with much that I have read in unbiassed sources elsewhere, and also with the experiences of private friends of my own of whose integrity I have every reason to be assured and who can have had no possible motive for wishing to mislead me. Mrs. Travers Smith is evidently in full agreement with her friend Sir William Barrett, who often took part in her experiments, and believes with him that "spiritism reveals the existence of some mysterious power which may be of a more or less malignant character," and that "it is necessary to be on our guard against the invasion of our will by a lower order of intelligence and morality."[1] On the other hand, it is perhaps worth noticing that, when Sir William in another passage speaks of the regrettable experience of certain friends of his own, he cannot be thinking of Mrs. Travers Smith.

> It not infrequently happens [he writes], as some friends of mine found, that after some interesting and veridical messages and answers to questions had been given, mischievous and deceptive communications took place, interspersed with profane and occasionally obscene language. How far the sitters' subliminal self is responsible for this it is difficult to say; they were naturally disquieted and alarmed, as the ideas and words were wholly foreign to their thoughts, and they threw up the whole matter in disgust.[2]

[1] Sir W. Barrett, *The Threshold of the Unseen*, p. 250.

[2] *Threshold of the Unseen* (1917), p. 322.

Seeing that Mrs. Travers Smith continued her experiments in automatism for six or seven years, she cannot be one of the persons here referred to, but she also bears testimony to the intervention of similar undesirable influences. After furnishing an account, too long to quote, of the spirit of a suicide who persistently attempted to communicate, and affected Mrs. Smith herself with such an abnormal depression that she adds, "I have never experienced such sensations before or since," [1]the narrative goes on :—

> This was, I presume, a clear case of attempted obsession, first of Mr. X., then of me ; it seemed quite clear that some external entity of a most dangerous kind was present at these sittings ; it illustrates one of the greatest dangers connected with psychic work.
>
> I cannot urge too much upon my readers that the greatest caution should be used in the choice of sitters, and also that unpleasant communicators should be dismissed ; the dangers of obsession are hardly realised by those who have not had some experience of them.[2]

This is a matter to which the writer more than once recurs. For example, she warns her readers :—

> Never encourage communicators who profess to have led evil and criminal lives. The fact that they will tell you these things generally means that they will eventually attempt obsession.[2]

It is quite plain that the writer, after her six or seven years' experience of automatism with the ouija board, in which, be it noted, she never attempted to induce physical manifestations of any kind beyond the mere writing of messages, was nevertheless convinced of the reality of the danger which intercourse with possibly malicious spirits was likely to create.

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[1] Travers Smith : *Voices from the Void*, with an Introduction by Sir William Barrett, 1919, p. 100. One passage in this account may be given by way of illustration : "Almost immediately Mr. X. fell again into trance conditions and appeared greatly distressed, complaining of some very depressing influence, and we broke off the sitting as before. Later in the evening the Rev. S. H. [Mr. Savill Hicks, a Unitarian minister of Dublin] hypnotised Mr. X., put a pencil into his hand, and asked him to do some automatic writing. He wrote very violently the same message again and again : 'Send this terrible thing away ; it's coming again.' We thought it best to put an end to the sitting."

[2] *Voices from the Void*, p. 101.

II.

Upon the question of the untrustworthiness of communications which purport to emanate from the spirit world there is even more to say. The most convinced believers fully admit the difficulty—indeed the utter impossibility—of determining how much is veridical in the messages received, whether they come through automatic writing, or through voice mediums, or by means of raps or other code of signals. As regards the process, it is assumed that normally we have at least four intelligences concerned. First, there is the spirit communicating; secondly, there is the "control,"[1] or intermediary spirit, which, owing to its privileged and quasi-permanent relation with the medium, is able to impress her sensitized perceptions; thirdly, we have the medium herself, who materializes the message by voice or writing; fourthly, we have the sitter, or sitters, taking part in the séance, who ask questions and also listen to, read or record the messages. Now from this complexity there must result grave danger of what Sir Oliver Lodge conveniently calls "sophistication," *i.e.*, the colouring, distorting or interpolating of the messages. Assuming for argument's sake that there is a genuine communication which some spirit on the other side desires to transmit, it is liable to be modified, not to say perverted, in the course of transmission both by the prepossessions or mannerisms of the control, and by ideas latent in the subconsciousness of the medium or the sitters. As I have written elsewhere, "the plain fact remains, familiar to all students of the subject, that when we are in possession of what purports to be a message, we are never quite sure how much of it is due to the communicator, how much to the control, or how much to the subconsciousness of the medium or of those present in the room."

[1] Many psychic researchers prefer to regard this "control" as a secondary personality of the medium.

What is even more serious, those who seek to hold intercourse with the dead through such channels are apparently at the mercy of troops of freakish or impersonating spirits who deliberately set out to mislead. "Silly spirits who wanted to have a game" is a phrase used of one such episode by the supposed Raymond[1] communicating from the other side. Whole chapters of Mr. Stainton Moses' writings are devoted to the difficulty of unmasking these "personating spirits," as he calls them, a constant embarrassment to which he otherwise refers as "a class of spirits who from mischievous design or from pure sportive fun . . . frequent circles, counterfeit manifestations, assume names and give erroneous and misleading information."[2] Does not Sir A. Conan Doyle himself admit the "foolish nature of many of these messages and the absolute falsehood of some," and that, in spite of the reality of inspiration, "the lapses were notable."[3] It seems almost impossible in such experiments to get away from an atmosphere of downright deception. Mrs. Piper is generally regarded as one of the most remarkable mediums of whom we have record, yet there is every reason to believe that the account which "Phinuit," the control under whose influence some of her most striking early successes were achieved, gave of his own history was a pure a pure fiction. Within the last few years some of the best results obtained by Mrs. Travers Smith, notably the messages from Sir Hugh Lane after the Lusitania tragedy, were due to her control, "Peter Rooney." Now the account she gives of Peter Rooney runs as follows :—

At the second or third sitting of the circle referred to, Peter Rooney made his appearance. He stated that he was an American Irishman ; that he had had a most undesirable career and spent much of his life in gaol ; that ten days before he communicated with us he had thrown himself under a tramcar in Boston and had been killed. Sir William Barrett, having made careful enquiries,

[1] *Raymond*, p. 194. [2] *Spirit Teachings*, p. 243.
[3] Doyle, *The New Revelation*, p. 26.

both from the Governor of the State Prison at Boston, Mass., and from the chief of the Police in that city, found Peter Rooney's tale an entire fabrication. A certain Peter Rooney had fallen from a tram-car in August, 1910, had suffered from a scalp wound, but was alive in 1914, so far as could be ascertained.

On being upbraided by us for assuming a name and identity not his own, Peter admitted that he had no desire that we should know who he was, and that he had adopted this name as it was as good as any other.[1]

And yet it is through channels such as these that spiritualists bid us seek the solution of the most profound mysteries of man's existence and destiny. "Feda," the control of the medium, Mrs. Leonard, is described as "a little Indian girl, talking (through Mrs. Leonard's organs of speech, of course) in the silly way they do." And we constantly read how Feda (in the person of the medium, a middle-aged woman, in the trance state) "jumps about and fidgets with her hands, just as a child would when pleased," or "jerked about on her chair, and squeaked or chuckled, after her manner when indicating pleasure."[2] As for results, Mrs. Travers Smith, summarising her own experience as an automatist, writes :—

In the course of sittings extending over six or seven years many influences have spoken through our small circle. Of these some were obviously frauds, and impersonations were frequent. These disappointments are most dispiriting to the novice in psychic experiments. It must always be borne in mind that in order to attain to any firm ground from which one may review one's work and venture to form a judgment as to whether we are or are not in touch with the spirit world, a mass of evidence must be accumulated. This, of course, demands great patience and perseverance, and the experimenter must judge for himself whether the achieved results justify the expenditure of time and labour.[3]

For an example of a case of direct deception, it will be interesting to recall an experience to which Professor Flournoy, of Geneva, has given prominence. Madame Dupond was a middle-aged lady, a Swiss Protestant.

[1] *Voices from the Void*, pp. 11–12.
[2] *Raymond*, pp. 120, 182, 192.
[3] Travers Smith, *Voices from the Void*, p. 10.

During a vacation ramble she met at a table d'hôte a young Catholic in whom she became interested. This lad, "Rudolph," had fallen under the influence of a priest whom M. Flournoy calls Don Bruno, but who seems clearly to have been the renowned and saintly Don Bosco. Rudolph was on the point of joining Don Bosco's Order; Mme. Dupond tried to dissuade him, and he on his side apparently kept up a correspondence with her in the hope of winning her over to the Catholic Faith. At this stage she seems to have taken up Spiritualism and began to practise automatic writing. One day her hand wrote down a communication to the following effect:—

I am Rudolph; I died at 11 o'clock this morning (Ap. 23d., 1881). You must believe what I tell you. I am happy. . . . I died at X., far from Don Bruno (? Bosco). Your father brought me to you. I did not know we could communicate thus. I am very happy. . . . A little before my death I sent for the Professor of Oratory.[1] I gave him your letters, begging him to return them to you; he will do so. After Communion I said good-bye to my colleagues. . . . The passage of death resembled that of sleep. I awakened near God, near my family and friends; it was beautiful, wonderful; I was happy and free. . . . I am attached to you. Do not fear that I love you less because I am no longer on earth. . . . Adieu, I go to pray for you. I am no longer Catholic, I am Christian.

After this first announcement, communications from Rudolph in the same automatic script followed daily for almost a week, but on the 30th of April a letter came by post from Rudolph himself, proving that, far from being dead, he was in perfectly sound health and in the same religious dispositions as before. Mme. Dupond admits that during this short time the thought of Rudolph had become a perfect obsession with her, to such an extent that she found herself constantly tracing the letter R in the air with her forefinger. When disillusionment came

[1] This is a ridiculous blunder of the translator. The French original reads, "le directeur de l'Oratoire." The greater houses of the Salesian Fathers are called "Oratories."

she gave up her automatic writing in disgust.[1] This authentic experience was harmless enough in its results, but it might easily have been otherwise. Professor Flournoy subjects the details to a minute analysis and appeals to it as confirming his theory that automatic writing is only the expression of the subliminal self, "the submerged complex of emotional feelings and desires." It may be so, but personally I am much more inclined to attribute the communication to what he calls a *farceur de l' au delà*, or what Mr. Moses styles a personating spirit.

To say the truth, similar examples of direct deception have been very numerous at all stages of the history of Spiritualism, and they certainly cannot always be analysed as the expression of subconscious desires. Thus Capron, writing in 1855, quotes the case of Judge Hascall, an American spiritualist and member of Congress, who

> had some very singular experiences, while in Washington, in regard to information being given him to the effect of some member of his family being sick or dead and the most solemn assurances given of its truth; when, on writing home, he ascertained that all was well and that the pretended information was totally false. On the other hand, occurrences taking place at a distance, of which he had no knowledge, were told with the greatest accuracy and truth.[2]

Further, I cannot help thinking that much of the respect now accorded to the data and conclusions of psychical research is due to the fact that its most conspicuous advocates, men like the late F. W. Myers, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir W. Barrett, Sir A. C. Doyle, Mr. J. Arthur Hill, and the rest, have all along had the advantage of working with the very best class of mediums, or at least of consulting the reliable and critical materials presented in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. From their writings one obtains no idea of how spiritualism works out for the masses, under the influence of second or

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[1] Flournoy: *Esprits et Mediums* (Paris, 1911), pp. 270 *seq.* The English edition, which I have quoted above, does not reproduce the whole of Flournoy's volume.

[2] Capron: *Modern Spiritualism*, Boston, 1855, p. 336.

third rate mediums, intent only upon exploiting the folly of mankind for their own advantage. Here is a letter which, at the time of another great spiritualistic boom in this country, that which marked the early seventies, was allowed to appear in *The Medium*, the leading spiritualistic journal of that period. It is headed—"Is there any remedy for Lying Spirits?"

Dear Sir,—Can any of your readers advise me what to do under the following circumstances? I will state my case very briefly. Unfortunately the uniformity of my experience enables me to do this very easily. I have been an earnest inquirer into spiritualism for the last five months, and during that time I have had more than a hundred sittings in my own house. We have had hundreds of messages and answers to questions. So far, good; this seems to me proof of an exterior intelligence in communication with the sitters. But this is my difficulty: all these communications have been of a lying character. For instance, I have been anxious to obtain tests of the identity of the spirits communicating. In seeking these, the spirits have given me what purported to be their names, with minute particulars of their earth life, their surviving friends, etc. In every case the information so given has proved to be utterly false. So of every other kind of information; it has invariably been totally untrue. And this the spirit or spirits unblushingly acknowledge after the deception has been found out. The only explanation I can get is that they "like to catch fools," or some such message, accompanied by language of the most profane character. Nor do any expedients I may adopt produce any more satisfactory results. The falsehoods are sworn to in the name of God, the Bible, and everything that is sacred.[1]

The first impression given by such a letter as this is that it must have been a practical joke. But it certainly was not; other correspondents backed it up, and others, while disagreeing, commended the candour of the editor in facing difficulties.

I have quoted more than once from Mrs. Travers Smith, and in concluding this present article I am tempted to make yet one more extract from her valuable little book. She at any rate is in touch with all that is best and most

[1] *The Medium and Daybreak*, May 2nd, 1874, p. 301.

reliable in psychical research, and she believes in the objective reality of the spirits purporting to communicate from the other world. As an Agnostic or a Unitarian, she is hampered with no religious difficulties, and yet her practical advice to readers takes the following form :—

> If I may venture to advise persons who long to speak once more with those whom they have loved who have vanished in darkness, I should say it is wise and sane not to make the attempt. The chances against genuine communication are ten to one ; the disappointments and doubts connected with the experiment are great.
>
> Personally I would not make any attempt to speak to the beloved dead through automatic writing on the ouija board. The evidence they offer of their identity is too ephemeral and unsatisfactory ; and as I would not undertake these experiments for myself, I would not willingly help others to risk them. . . I fear the observations I have just made may be very distasteful to many who approach the subject from the spiritualist point of view. I cannot offer these people any apology for my attitude.

One can only express one's entire sympathy with this attitude of mind. If Mrs. Travers Smith had been an unsuccessful experimenter her advice would be open to suspicion as dictated by pique or disappointment ; but in view of the quite remarkable results acquired, her warning must command the respect of all.

It will be understood, I trust, that I do not in the least dispute the existence on occasion of many veridical communications, some of a most startling and inexplicable kind. But even with the best mediums lapses of all sorts are frequent. The most experienced psychic researchers admit that we can be sure of nothing until confirmatory evidence is available from an independent source. In a future article I hope to deal with the other three headings of my suggested summary of objections.

HERBERT THURSTON.

THE GAELIC LEAGUE, 1893-1919.

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY.

IF the people of London should wake up one morning to find the Church of England abolished over-night, their surprise would be little greater than that of most Irishmen when they found the Gaelic League casually included by the Irish Government in a list of societies to be suppressed under Mr. Balfour's Act. The Gaelic League! It was not the twenty thousand student members of its six hundred branches who were most moved. The religious comparison just made has this much of appositeness that the League has a strong hold on the affections of vast numbers in Ireland who but poorly practise its principles. For they look on it as a centre of national faith, a focus of Irish hopes. And how strong is the national sentiment of seemingly uncaring Irishmen is only fully realised by the man who takes his stand against it.

Let it be said at once, the Gaelic League is not, save in the most indirect way, a political organisation; its analogies are, as already suggested, far more religious than political. It stands for the permanent, imperishable things that underly all politics, for the traditional heritage of a people sorely pressed. It took its beginning at a time when politics had fallen into a great contempt in Ireland, amid the futile wranglings of the Parnell split, when Redmond was hurling defiance at Dillon's majority, when language of ghastly obloquy was being bandied between men whose political aims were all but identical. In this miserable state of public affairs a few enthusiastic young

men, headed by Dr. Douglas Hyde, a Protestant from Trinity College, and Eoin MacNeill, a Catholic from what is now the National University, came together for the promotion of certain objects only distantly connected with politics.

These objects may be described as the application to Ireland of those principles of intensive nationalism which were already a commonplace in most of the countries of Europe. A strictly political nationalism was, of course, no new idea in Ireland. The contest for self-determination, sometimes in a full and sometimes in a more restricted and less correct sense, had been going on at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Names like Wolfe Tone, Emmet and Davis on the one hand, of O'Connell, Butt and Parnell on the other, were on the lips of all Irishmen. But whether they were extremists or constitutionalists, they had this much in common, that their aims and their propaganda were almost wholly political. Of that fuller content of the idea of nationality, that spiritual oneness founded upon continuity of tradition, of habit, of aspirations, and founded above all upon the heritage of a common language, they had at best a dim and imperfect appreciation. Davis came nearest to it; O'Connell, and in this respect he very fairly embodied the spirit of his time, was wholly blind to such considerations. Few men had done more than he during his long leadership to wipe out the ancient language of Ireland, though he was himself an Irish-speaker, as were the great majority of native Irishmen at the beginning of O'Connell's career. To-day Czech and Magyar and Pole see in their hard spoken tongues the guarantee of their national integrity. To O'Connell and most of the leaders, lay and ecclesiastical of that time, the Irish language was a political hindrance and a badge of servitude. They are perhaps not much to blame; even a great man cannot be ahead of his time. O'Connell's attitude upon questions of language and the like may be likened to Aristotle's toleration of slavery.

The results of this policy continued through a century were thus described by Mr. D. P. Moran, in the *Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, which might be called a text-book of the new movement, written in 1898 :—

> Has history ever presented such a sorry spectacle as an historic nation wiping herself out while her flags are flying and her big drums beating ? Why not call ourselves British right away and have done with all this clatter and clap-trap about nothing, which we miscall nationality. It deceives no one but ourselves ; and if we would only stop this self-deception for a while we might get a better perspective of things and a clearer view of what nationality means. If instead of talking pikes and blunderbusses and bragging about being a great people, we learned in public, what so many have a suspicion of in private, that we are getting parlously near that time when we shan't be a distinctive people at all, we might then mend our ways and do something masculine.

His description of the English-speaking Irish population of the time is also worth quoting, as illustrating the spirit of the new Irish movement at the end of the last century and what it was fighting against :—

> Observe it in the music-halls, yelling inanely at low jokes and indecent songs ; watch it coming from a patriotic meeting, roaring " The Boys of Wexford " between the " half-way " houses ; see it in petticoats in its thousands, filing into the circulating libraries and the penny novelette shops for reams of twaddle about Guy and Belinda ; listen to it in the literary clubs discussing, as the footman might discuss his master in the security of the kitchen, the ideas of English literary men, and never for a moment becoming conscious that God also gave *it*, too, a head which He intended it to use in some original and independent manner.

These paragraphs fairly express the new spirit, or at least the new spirit as it appealed to a man of rather moderate political views. The Gaelic League was founded in 1893, to revive the use of Irish as a *spoken* language, thus differing from various earlier movements and organisations, whose attitude to Irish was merely antiquarian. But as will be seen, by 1898 it was already occupying a somewhat wider field of

action and becoming an intellectual and moral revival, with all the challenge which such a revival implies. At first it was laughed at and looked upon as a quixotic enterprise. It made slow progress. I can remember when all its active members could be, and in fact were, comfortably housed in a fairly large room.

In this early stage, as in the early stages of so many Irish movements, Irish Protestants took a considerable part, till later on, as in the Home Rule movement, the pressure inside and outside became too strong for them, and they fell away. In the beginning it was very commonly hoped that the new movement might afford a ground for common action to men of different faiths as it was already bringing together men of different politics. Those Irish politicians whose aim was complete independence, having at the time little active work of their own, gave the League a hearty support from the first, and their weekly papers were always wholeheartedly on its side. Mr. Arthur Griffith incorporated the doctrines of the Gaelic League in his *Sinn Fein* policy. Supporters of the various constitutional movements of the time, Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, with the exception of the actual professional politicians (whose jealousy made them decidedly hostile), also joined largely in the movement. There was also a small sprinkling of actual Unionists, whose patriotism was perhaps stronger than their logic. The Gaelic League, being non-political by its constitution, became a favourite field for activity with Catholic civil servants, especially with the minor officials in the High Court of Justice, a service recently opened to competitive examination. The lower competitive Civil Service was at this time almost the only opening for the Irish Catholic who had brains and a good secondary education, but little money and as a rule no influence of any kind; some of the most brilliant intellects and finest characters among the native population were to be found in its ranks, and they became everywhere leaders of the movement as it gradually spread.

At first the fires smouldered. Readers of George Birmingham's *Hyacinth* will remember the vivid description of a branch of the League in early days painfully pouring over primers of Irish in a dim light. At first there were only a few branches and as much quarrelling as among the early Christians. But suddenly the rush came. In the years immediately preceding and following 1900 the movement became a prairie-fire. Several causes contributed to this. Attacks on the Gaelic League by the professional politicains failed ignominiously. Father O'Growney's simple lessons in Irish recently published, and perhaps making the early stages of the language deceptively easy for the learner, attained an immense popularity. The number of native Irishmen of that period who did not penetrate some way into an O'Growney primer is not large. The League was, of course, also gaining strength within its own body.

But a cause which is often overlooked is the immense influence of a weekly journal, *The Leader*, started in September, 1900, by the author of the book, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, already cited. The paper embodied that broader philosophy which had gathered round the Gaelic League idea, and which can be collected from the extracts already given. The spirit of Juvenal lived again—

"*Non possum ferre, Quirites,*
Graecam *urbem.*"

It was the paper of the native population, anxious to *be native*, to free itself from foreign influences, whether within or without. It was not long in becoming embroiled with the Protestant settlers, and perhaps helped to bring about their general withdrawal from the movement, though there have of course at all times been most earnest Protestant workers in the Irish Ireland movement, including its President down to three years ago. On the other hand, the journal had an immense influence in bringing the Catholic Church in Ireland wholeheartedly into the League, a tremendous accession of strength. It is largely the

work of *The Leader* that practically all the Catholic clergy of the twentieth century have been on the side of the Irish Ireland movement. A long continued boycott by the daily press has tended to hide its work from outsiders.

The method of working of the Gaelic League has always been very simple. It employs a number of organisers and travelling teachers to go through the country. And wherever sufficient interest can be aroused, when (say) ten to twenty fervents can be enlisted, a branch is set on foot, a schoolroom or some other suitable premises being secured as a home for its activities. The branch enjoys local self-government, subject to the duty of making a contribution to the central body and with rights of representation in the election of that body. The main business of the branch is language teaching, and classes, usually mixed as regards sex, are immediately formed for the study of the Irish language. The language is a difficult one, but the methods of teaching it have, through the medium of the Irish colleges, been brought to a high standard of efficiency. Direct methods of teaching, phrase methods and phonetic drill are used to an extent not thought of in the usual teaching of foreign languages. But all work and no play makes Sean a dull boy—and Nora would never stand it—or perhaps it is the other way about. So linguistic study is sweetened by Irish music and much Irish dancing.

The traditional music of Ireland, though little heard outside Gaelic League circles and the homes of the country people, is of extreme beauty and refinement. The best songs cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of the Irish language, since they are written with a subtlety of construction like that of a Greek chorus. To anyone with a real understanding of song-music—in modern times such people are not too common—Irish music is one of the most attractive parts of the League's work. Irish dancing has, however, made it more converts. Whether the traditional dancing of our country is really autochthonous is a matter

of some dispute, but once acquired, and the simpler forms of it are not difficult to acquire, it is far livelier and healthier than most modern cosmopolitan dancing, and nevertheless embodies far more the expression of an artistic concept. For the young and vigorous it is the best dancing in the world. And the Gaelic League was not long in finding it a powerful instrument for making proselytes.

In the flat dullness of an Irish village or, worse still, an Irish country town, a Gaelic League class is to the ranks who avail of it an unexpected source of light and gaiety. Only those who aspire to an upper middle class position fight shy of it, lest they be compromised. The resident magistrate and the district inspector of police, of course, keep away. Sometimes a local aristocrat may be a patron, but less often nowadays. The bank manager will at the best give it a subscription; one of his younger clerks may be a member. But the parish priest gives it either ready support or benevolent tolerance. One of his curates is probably the enthusiast at the back of the enterprise. One of the six solicitors in the town, and perhaps a doctor, are members; also two secondary teachers from the college. The lady members will be the more eager and serious minded women of the town, with perhaps a few who like dancing or eager-minded men. There are sure to be the sons and daughters and sisters of one or two unexpected people. As a rule the women, though more shy at coming, are the most useful and earnest members when they do come. They are all-important for the frequent ceilidh, when they pull the clumsier men dancers through the High Call Cap and make the mirth and the tea. The tea is always good, a peculiarity of Irish dances. There are Irish songs between the reels, and the fun is kept up to a late hour. Once in the year, in the summer as a rule, there is the larger and more important festival, a féis (Feis). Then the people come in from all round the countryside, wherever Irish is still

spoken or aught of tradition lingers, to compete in the competitions of song and dance and lilting and story-telling. The school children are examined competitively in their Irish for small prizes. It is the greatest day of the year in the district. Co. Wexford is specially famous for its féis. The Oireachtas, held at Killarney or Dublin or Waterford or some like centre, is but the féis writ large, a competition and festival for the whole of Ireland, with prizes for literature and plays and concerts. Plays are perhaps the weakest thing in the League's activity, and a Gaelic Synge or Yeats or Murray has yet to be discovered.

It is at the Oireachtas that the Ard-fheis, or Gaelic League Parliament, assembles, and the League annually washes its linen in public. For some years past all its proceedings have been conducted in Irish. It is in no wise a political assembly. It has politics of its own. Men and women rise to power and fall from it. And there is something like an inchoate ministry able to bear down opposition till in the end it looses its influence. Very largely the issues are purely League issues, questions of domestic policy, but, of course, outside events are not wholly absent from the members' minds. The Gaelic League used at one time to be much denounced for being non-political; it is now frequently attacked as being political. It is neither quite one nor quite the other. It is a genuinely non-political organisation, whose members, like the members of other non-political organisations, religious organisations for instance, are to a certain extent influenced by their political convictions. The Ard-fheis has, in fact, kept far clearer of politics, both in word and in action, than the Synod or the General Assembly. The best proof indeed that the League has in the main kept out of politics is that, though the sceptre of Irish politics has changed five or six times during its quarter century of existence, it has never been the subject of a political split. Again, the Gaelic League has so often been de-

nounced as being clerical and as being anti-clerical that the charges cancel out. In actual fact, there has scarcely been any propaganda in Ireland for the last twenty years that has not attempted to capture the League. Even Mr. George Moore made some tentative efforts.

The side upon which its activities come nearest to politics are its efforts to influence the unrepresentative educational bodies of Ireland in favour of teaching Gaelic in the schools and colleges. Educational self-determination has no existence in Ireland, all educational authorities—except to a limited extent in technical education—being nominated and unrepresentative, with the result that Irish educational programmes are of a kind upon which no people enjoying self-determination, even of a rudimentary form, would ever determine. By dint of the pressure of public opinion and a large measure of assistance from the Catholic clergy, especially the more patriotic of the religious, the League has succeeded in making the teaching of the Irish language fairly general in the Catholic schools. Unfortunately, however, neither Irish nor any other language, with the doubtful exception of English, is so taught in school—and this is scarcely peculiar to Ireland—as to enable the pupil to speak it with ease or read it with pleasure in after years.

The greatest battle of the League, the bitterest and most effective it ever waged, was the successful struggle to have Irish made compulsory for students of the newly founded National University. The possibility of such a question arising had not been foreseen when the new University was being established and fetters of various kinds, entitled safeguards, imposed on it. Had it been foreseen, probably Irish, or at least compulsory Irish, would have been excluded, as a Catholic chapel was. The proposal, when it was made, was daring in its novelty and shocked the grey-beards; even the Catholic bishops were at first in open opposition to it. Mr. Dillon, the most powerful man in the Irish Party, was also strongly hostile.

Many people at the time honestly believed that it would strangle the new foundation at its birth. But, after a moment of irresolution, the Gaelic League demanded its full programme, and the struggle began. The country rallied behind the League in an astonishing way. It was one of the rare occasions upon which the dormant Irish people gave firm expression to its views and was able to make them prevail. Irish was made essential at Matriculation and up to the point of specialisation in the University, except for foreign-born students. So far the step has had no perceptible ill effect upon the University. It is doing much silent work for the Gaelic cause.

If one looks back on the work of the Gaelic League or the Irish Ireland movement for the quarter of a century during which it has existed, it has in one sense failed; in another it has achieved an unthinkable success. Irish literature has been revived. The proportion of Irishmen who know Irish, some Irish, has increased beyond any expectation, but the number who actually speak it, who would, for instance, say something in Gaelic if you stuck a pin in them—a crucial test—is probably decreasing and even decreasing rather rapidly. The reason of this is that from causes too numerous to be set out here, chiefly political causes, Irishmen with an imperfect knowledge of English use it as much as possible, while Irishmen with an imperfect knowledge of Irish use it only on rare occasions.[1] And, as already said, an imperfect knowledge of any language is all that a school training seems able to give.

So far the manufacture of Irish speakers and students by the Gaelic League has been chiefly valuable for its bye-products. To describe the indirect results of the League's propaganda in music, in literature, in drama, in industry, in life would require another article, and it would be a very interesting one. They have been so valuable

[1]Probably not five hundred of its inhabitants, possibly not even fifty can pronounce *correctly* the English name (Dublin) of the capital of Ireland, the short initial "u" being almost an impossibility for Southern Irishmen. Certainly five thousand, possibly as many as fifty thousand, can pronounce correctly the Irish form of the name (ð' l 'a clıaṫ), but the English form is almost always used.

that the League might claim a justification for its existence even if it should wholly fail in its main purpose.

But it shows no signs of failing. The last year or two, and especially the last few months, has been a period of revival in the League comparable to the period of activity in the first five years of the present century and to the revival in 1910. It has never been so prosperous, never, with perhaps one exception, had so many branches, never been able to do so much organising work. Every Irish college had this year nearly double its usual compliment of students. The same is true of Gaelic classes throughout the country. Of course there is a reason for all this. But one could not touch upon it without entering the domain of politics. For all their apparent divergence of views, there is a strange unity of sentiment in the Irish people. Suffice it to say that even if, as M. Baussan[1] suggests, it was Marshal Foch who held up the retreat at Ypres, Lord French will in future times get the credit of having done much to arrest the decay of the Irish language. ARTHUR E. CLERY.

P.S.—Since the above article was written the following proclamation has been issued :—

By the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland.

FRENCH.

Whereas, by our Special Proclamation dated the 3rd day of July, 1918, in pursuance and by virtue of the "Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," we declared from the date thereof, certain Associations in Ireland, known by the names of

The Sinn Fein Organisation, The Irish Volunteers,
Sinn Fein Clubs, The Cumann na m-Ban, and
The Gaelic League,

to be dangerous ;

And Whereas said Associations now exist in the County Borough of Cork.

Now we, the Lord Lieutenant-General and Governor General of Ireland, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, and by virtue of "The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," and of every power and authority in this behalf, do hereby by this our Order prohibit and suppress within the said County Borough of Cork the Associations named and described in the said Special Proclamation as—

The Sinn Fein Organization, The Irish Volunteers,
Sinn Fein Clubs, The Cumann na m-Ban, and
The Gaelic League.

Given at the Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, the 10th day of September, 1919.

IAN MACPHERSON, F. SHAW.

[A proclamation in similar terms and of the same date applies to the County of Cork. Proclamations suppressing the Gaelic League in the Counties of Tipperary and Clare were issued on July 7 and August 13, 1919. The proclamation of July 3, 1918, applied to the whole of Ireland.]

[1] *Studies*, March, 1918.

PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE.

Part I.

BY EDMOND POWER, S.J., D.LITT.ORIENT.

Professor of Biblical Archæology, Biblical Institute, Rome.

THE Bible, as everybody knows, is an eastern book composed by eastern writers and intended by them, in the first instance, for eastern readers. Its style, like that of eastern literature in general, is vivid, concrete, picturesque. Comparisons and illustrations from the daily life of Palestine, open and covert allusions to oriental manners and customs, abound in its pages. These manners and customs are often very different from ours. As Kipling somewhat hyperbolically puts it: "East is East and West is West, And never the twain shall meet." And so it happens that the local colour, intended to render the Sacred Books more attractive and intelligible, loses for us westerns no little of its charm and becomes an occasional source of obscurity, and even of error. It is the purpose of the present lecture to show that Divine Providence has not left us without a resource in this difficulty. We have only to become acquainted by study or travel with the manners and customs of the modern Palestinian Arabs. There we may still find a witness to the truth and naturalness of the Bible and a key to the fuller understanding and realisation of its teaching.

A natural difficulty here suggests itself. *Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis.* The manners and customs in Palestine to-day must be very different from

those of two or three thousand years ago. And what of all the conquering races—Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks—that succeeded each other in the possession of Palestine? Did they not introduce their own manners and customs, and supplant those of the ancient Hebrews? To this difficulty we may answer that the Orientals are extremely conservative. This is particularly true of the peasants and Bedouins, both of which classes were left largely undisturbed and almost wholly unchanged by the invaders. We are expressly told of Nebuchodonosor[1] that, when he deported the Jews to Babylon, he left the poorer classes, the country peasants, to till the soil and care for the vineyards. The newcomers settled in the cities and had little desire to share or improve the hard lot of the Palestinian peasant. Hungry Arabs of the desert would alone have largely mixed with the country people, and these, adopting for the first time a settled life, had no new customs to introduce. Gradually, too, the native peasants supplanted the foreign townspeople; for a constant influx from the country is required to keep up the city population, especially in the east, where the death-rate in crowded centres is very high. But the ancient city life thus largely restored has been again considerably modified by the western immigrants of the last century. It is the country people we must visit and study in our search for the manners and customs of Biblical times. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. And we hope to show by comparing the Biblical narrative with the experiences and observations of recent travellers and scholars that life in Palestine to-day is very like what it was in ancient times.[2]

The field of research on which we are entering is a vast one. An attempt to cover it all in a single article would

[1] 4 Kings xxv., 12.

[2] The following books are extremely helpful and have been largely utilised in this study: L. Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1902. G. M. Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, London, 1903. C. T. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, London, 1906. G. Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, London, 1907.

only result in superficiality of treatment. As our object is to show the usefulness of such research to the Biblical student, we shall confine ourselves for the present to a single but very important branch, the customs connected with the products of the land. The land with its flocks and herds, its corn and fruit, is the prime factor, the great mainstay of the life of an agricultural country. It must then have exercised a paramount influence on the history and literature of Israel.

The hilly character of the land in Palestine makes it admirably adapted to the raising of flocks. As the cow is used almost exclusively for agricultural work, sheep and goats supply the abundance of milk for which the country has been always famous. Naturally, then, the Bible is full of direct and figurative allusions to the shepherd and his flock. Jacob, Moses and David were shepherds. God is the shepherd of Israel.[1] Christ is the shepherd of the Church.[2] Now everything we are thus told of shepherd life in ancient Israel can be paralleled, illustrated and where needful explained by the life of the present-day Palestinian shepherd. And we can grasp more fully the force and beauty of the divine comparison between the care of the shepherd for his sheep and the care of God and Christ for each one of us when we come to realise that the dependence of the flock on the shepherd and the intimacy between them far surpass in Palestine anything our western ideas would lead us to imagine.

The first action of the shepherd's day is to call and lead, not drive, his sheep to pasture. It is thus described for us by Our Divine Lord Himself in a well-known passage of St. John's Gospel :[3] "And when he hath let out his own sheep, he goeth before them ; and the sheep follow him because they know his voice. But a stranger they follow not but fly from him, because they know not the voice of the strangers." How well this account, so much at variance with our experience of sheep, agrees with what

[1] Ps. xxii., etc. [2] John x., etc. [3] John x., 4, 5.

a traveller recently witnessed at a shepherd's encampment in Gilead![1] All the flocks had been herded together promiscuously during the night in the circle formed by the tents for protection. In the morning the various shepherds went a little way off from the camp in different directions and uttered each his peculiar call. Immediately the sheep streamed out of the enclosure and, guided only by the voice that each one recognised, became in less than five minutes six or seven different flocks, following their respective shepherds towards the different points of the compass.

The sheep are pastured in the field, as Holy Scripture calls it,[2] not a piece of ground shut in by wall or fence, but the open country, mountain or plain land, unenclosed and unappropriated by individuals. There the shepherd must be ever on the watch against the straying of the sheep, the raids of robbers and the attacks of wild beasts. Recently a shepherd near Jerusalem spent three days looking for a lost sheep, which had been caught by the leg in a cleft of rock in the wilderness.[3] Another saved his flock from robbers by standing on a piece of high ground, waving his mantle around his head and continuing to utter his well-known call until he had all the scattered and frightened animals, with only one exception, collected in a circle about him. Another, though unarmed, boldly attacked a wolf which was carrying off a sheep; and had not a stone come to his hand with which he battered the wolf's head after the animal had gripped his knee, he would in all likelihood have given his life for his sheep.

The climatic differences in Palestine may be very great within a relatively small area. In consequence the shepherd often travels a long way from home in search of early or late herbage, as did the brothers of Joseph.[4] He deserts the heights when snow is feared in winter, and

[1] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 164.

[2] Genesis xxix. 2, xxx. 16, etc.

[3] Wilson, *l.c.* p. 165, 170, 168, gives this and the following anecdotes. Cf. Luke xv. 3-7; John x. 11, 15.

[4] Genesis xxxvii. 12-17.

takes refuge with his sheep in some sheltering valley like that underneath Bethlehem, where the shepherds of the Nativity were keeping the night-watches over their flocks.[1] He is thus obliged to spend many days and nights at a time with his sheep, sleeping often in the midst of them, wrapped up in his mantle, or sheltering himself when he can in one of the caves so frequent in Palestine.[2] Often can he say with Jacob: "Day and night was I parched with heat and with frost, and sleep departed from my eyes."[3] Like that patriarch, too, he must remove the heavy stone that covers the wells or cisterns and water the flock daily in summer-time.[4] And after the vintage he not unfrequently lets them browse on the vine-leaves, thus realising the desolation alluded to by the prophet Jeremias when he said: "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard; they have trodden my portion under foot."[5]

The shepherd is generally provided with a scrip, a sling, a club and a rod. The scrip is a bag made of kid-skin which hangs by his side and holds his provisions. When the disciples were sent forth "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," "they were forbidden to take with them the shepherd's scrip.[6] They were going not to "the field," but to the homes of men, where they would receive the necessary food in return for their spiritual ministrations. Probably, too, the five loaves and the two small fishes, with which Our Lord fed the multitude, were the contents of some shepherd lad's scrip.[7] The sling is made of goat's hair. It closes tightly round the stone placed in it by the aid of a slit in the middle of its diamond-shaped pad. The shepherd uses it for defence against wild beasts, as well as to warn lagging or straying sheep by dropping a stone near them. The men of Benjamin were skilled slingers in the period of the Judges[8]; and David's exploit with the sling is well known.[9] The club is an oaken bludgeon, nearly a yard long, with a big round knob at

[1] Luke ii. 8. [2] 1 Kings xxiv. 4. [3] Genesis xxxi. 40. [4] Genesis xxix. 2 *sq.*
[5] Jeremias xii. 10. [6] Matt. x. 6, 10, 16. [7] John vi. 9.
[8] Judges xx. 16. [9] 1 Kings xvii. 40 *sq.*

one end. It is usually carried attached to the girdle and is the shepherd's principal weapon of defence, though many shepherds now have guns also. Such must have been the weapon of David, of which Goliath said : " Am I a dog that thou comest to me with a staff ?"[1] A rod, about six feet long and rarely provided with a crook, is however the chief sign of the shepherd's office. This appears during the day, when it is used for support in standing or walking and to keep sheep and goats in order, but more especially at eventide, when the shepherd holds it in his hand at the entrance to the fold and lets the sheep pass under it one by one. When a sick or wounded animal, requiring special care, approaches, the rod descends and separates it from the rest. This still existing practice explains to us the declaration in Leviticus that tithes must be paid on all animals, " that pass under the shepherd's rod."[2] It also makes clear a passage of Ezechiel in which this prophet, following the example of Jeremias,[3] beautifully compares the return of the Jews from captivity to the return of the sheep to the fold at night. The metaphor in the text, " I will make you pass under the rod,"[4] is obscured in the Vulgate rendering, " I will make you subject to my sceptre." Again when the Psalmist says : " Thy rod and thy staff have comforted me."[5] he does not allude to the consolations that often accompany salutary afflictions, but to the comfort flowing from the consciousness of the Shepherd's constant protection and loving care.

When the shepherd, as frequently happens, is not the owner of the flock, he incurs no responsibility for losses caused by open raids or by the attacks of wild beasts. In the latter case, however, he must prove the manner of the loss by exhibiting some part of the torn animal. Jacob, as shepherd of Laban's sheep, neglected to do this and makes a merit of having waived his rightful claims. " Neither did I show thee," he says to Laban, " that which the beast had

[1] 1 Kings xvii. 43. [2] Lev. xxvii. 32. [3] Jer. xxxiii. 13.
[4] Ezechiel xx. 37. [5] Ps. xxii. 4.

torn, I made good the damage; whatever was lost by theft thou didst exact of me."[1] The hireling's freedom from responsibility is also presupposed by Our Divine Lord when he says: "He seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and flieth . . . because he is a hireling."[2] He is always free to use the milk of the flock for his personal needs, thus realising the words of St. Paul: "Who feedeth the flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock?"[3] And in the East Jordan land he is still paid, somewhat as in Jacob's time,[4] by receiving every tenth lamb or kid each year. Modern customs throw no special light on the question as to how far Jacob's success in getting the ewes to bear speckled lambs by means of the striped rods was due to natural causes or to divine intervention. But they do explain how he managed to secure all the best lambs. There are two lambing seasons in the year, December and June, though the ewes only bear twice in alternate years. Jacob tried his stratagem on the early or winter lambs only,[5] which are strong and healthy, as they come into the world when milk and pasture are most abundant. The late or summer lambs, in consequence of the heat, find a smaller supply of milk and very little herbage, and so they mostly grow up weak or die of inanition. These might be generously left to Laban by the father of the Jewish race.

The flocks supply the Palestinian peasant with milk, butter and cheese, rarely, however, with meat, except on festive occasions. His staple food is bread. The frequent Scriptural expression "staff of bread"[6] would suffice to show that bread was also the principal support of life in ancient times. To secure the bread supply was, therefore, the chief material preoccupation of the Hebrew peasant. And hence a survey of the various operations by which bread is provided in modern Palestine may be expected to throw light on a number of Biblical passages.

As soon as the first rains have softened the earth

[1] Genesis xxxi. 39. [2] John x. 12-13. [3] 1 Cor. ix. 7. [4] Genesis xxx. 28-35.
[5] Genesis xxx. 41-42. [6] Lev. xxvi. 26; Ps. civ. 16; Ezechiel iv. 16, etc.

ploughing begins in November. The Palestinian plough is a simple agricultural implement not ill suited to a hilly and stony country. It consists of a strong elbow-shaped piece of wood, having an iron share fitted into one end, a long wooden pole fastened to the other, and a shorter wooden handle-piece fixed to the joint. The pole is attached by an iron pin to the yoke. This is a wooden beam provided with two pairs of wooden pegs which enfold the necks of the oxen and are secured underneath by thongs. The rough and galling yoke is often referred to in the Old Testament as a sign of bondage, servitude and degradation,[1] and everyone will remember how it represents in the New the following of Christ, hard indeed in itself, but made light and easy by His help and example.[2] The ploughing is usually done by a pair of oxen, but the law of Deuteronomy, forbidding to yoke an ox and an ass,[3] is no longer observed. One may still see farmers exercise their fresh oxen at the approach of the ploughing season, as in the Gospel parable ;[4] and even eleven yoke of oxen working in the same field, as in the time of Elias,[5] is not an impossible sight. When Our Lord speaks of putting one's hand to the plough,[6] there is a little touch of reality in the singular number ; for the Palestinian peasant guides the plough with his left hand only, while he holds in his right the long goad with its sharp iron point to encourage the oxen. If they kick against it they only feel it the more. Hence Our Lord's words to St. Paul : " It is hard to kick against the goad."[7] It makes a terrible weapon in the hands of a strong man. We read in Judges that Shamgar slew six hundred men of the Philistines with an ox-goad.[8]

The Palestinian peasant scatters the seed before ploughing. Hence some seeds must always fall on the wayside, as we read in the Gospel parable,[9] that is to say,

[1] Genesis xxvii. 40; Lev. xxvi. 13; Deut. xxviii. 48 ; 3 Kings xii. 4 ; Isaias xlvii. 6 ; Jeremias xxvii. 8 *sq.* [2] Matt. xi. 29-30. [3] Deut. xxii. 10. [4] Luke xiv. 19. [5] 3 Kings xix. 19. [6] Luke ix. 62. [7] Acts ix. 5. [8] Judges iii. 31. [9] Matt. xiii. 4.

on the uncultivated boundary paths that mark off the different plots. Then the plough roots up the soil from underneath and allows the seed to fall in, instead of turning the furrow over on it as our ploughs do. The peasant will often "sow in tears," if he lives in the lonelier and more outlying parts of the Holy Land; for marauding Bedouins, as likely as not, will reap his crop. To sow at all is a venture, but a necessary one. And his joy will be all the greater if he succeeds in forestalling the plunderers. "They that sow in tears will reap in joy."[1] He makes no effort to remove the weeds and thorns until the harvest approaches, a practice we find alluded to more than once by Our Lord.[2] The seed in ordinary land usually produces about seven-fold; a twelve-fold crop is considered very good, while a thirty-fold one is rare even in the best plain-land. In comparing this with the thirty, sixty and hundred fold of the Gospel,[3] we must remember that Our Lord excludes the portion of the seed that has fallen on the wayside, on rocky ground or among thorns, also that the soil is not quite as rich as it once was. A single seed may still, however, produce from one to three hundred grains of wheat.[4]

The corn is reaped from the middle of March to the end of May. It ripens a month earlier in the plain than in the mountain land, and the barley harvest precedes the wheat by about a fortnight. The sickle is still everywhere used, as in the time of Deuteronomy.[5] The poor may be seen gleaning when the reapers have passed, as Ruth did[6] and as the Levitical law ordained.[7] Even the poorest peasant always leaves a portion of his field unreaped until he has sent the rest of the crop to the threshing-floor. These portions are then cut down, and the produce is collected together and divided into three parts for the support of the village priest, the village guests and the poor. This practice corresponds with a twice-repeated

[1] Ps. cxxv. 5. [2] Matt. xiii. 7, 30. [3] Matt. xiii. 8; Gen. xxvi. 12. Bauer, *Volksleben*, p. 150. [5] Deut. xvi. 9. [6] Ruth. ii. 15, 17. [7] Lev. xix. 9.

prescription of Leviticus, which is unfortunately mistranslated in the Vulgate: "And when you reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field [the Vulgate has "you shall not cut it to the very ground"], neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest; thou shalt leave them unto the poor and to the stranger."[1] The Deuteronomic law[2] allowing all passers to pluck and eat the ripe standing corn is still everywhere in force. Even the Pharisees did not object to this in the case of the disciples.[3] They only claimed that it was a servile work, and therefore could never be lawfully done on the Sabbath.

Immediately after the corn is reaped it is brought on the backs of animals to the threshing-floor of the village. This is a large circular space open to the winds and with a hard rocky surface. The corn is threshed in two different ways, as in Biblical times. The first of these is most common among the poorer classes. Oxen with iron-shod hoofs[4] are driven round and round over a circular heap of corn until the grain is separated from the straw. It takes two days to thresh such a heap, when about thirty feet in diameter and three feet thick, as it usually is. But there is no hurry, for the summer is long and rain is not to be feared. This manner of threshing and the still generally respected custom of allowing the oxen to feed at will is referred to in the law of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn."[5] The richer farmers use a wooden sledge having pieces of iron or basalt embedded in its under side and drawn over the corn by an ox. This is the "threshing-sledge . . . having edges" of the prophet Isaias.[6] It performs the work more expeditiously, but is said to deteriorate the value of the straw for feeding purposes.[7] When we contrast

[1] Lev. xxiii. 22; xix. 9. [2] Deut. xxiii. 25. [3] Matt. xii. 1, 2.

[4] Cf. Micheas iv. 13: "Arise and thresh [Vulgate "tread"], O daughter of Sion: for I will make thy horn iron, and thy hoofs I will make brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many peoples." [5] Deut. xxv. 4.

[6] Isaias xli. 15. [7] Isaias xxv. 10.

these methods of threshing with our use of the flail, we see that the Biblical word "thresh" means crush rather than beat. This appears also from the parallelism in the following verse of Habacuc: "Thou dost tread the earth in wrath, Thou dost thresh the heathen in anger."[1] The Vulgate rendering avoids the metaphor and thus misses the parallelism: "In thy anger thou wilt tread the earth under foot: in thy wrath thou wilt astonish the nations."

When the process of threshing has brought the grain to the bottom, the longer straw on top is easily removed by the hand; but the rest of it must be separated from the corn by winnowing. For this purpose the peasant employs, first a shovel, then and chiefly a fan or wooden fork having three or five prongs, with which he throws the mixture into the air. The heavier grain falls down nearly on the same spot while the lighter straw is carried farther by the wind. Most of the straw is used for fodder, but the coarser parts are either burned in heaps on the threshing floor or used for heating ovens and potters' kilns. The whole operation of winnowing furnishes a very apt illustration of the judgment of God, the separation of the just from the wicked and their ultimate destiny. For instance, St. John the Baptist describes Our Lord as one "whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his floor and gather his wheat into the barn; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire."[2] Many of the Old Testament allusions escape the reader of the Vulgate owing to the fact that the Hebrew word for chaff or coarse straw is almost invariably rendered "dust." A familiar instance is the description of the wicked in the first psalm, where the context shows that the judgment is alluded to. The Hebrew text reads: "Not so the wicked, but like chaff which the wind drives; therefore the wicked shall not rise at the judgment nor sinners in the congregation of the just."[3]

[1] Habacuc iii. 12. [2] Matt. iii. 12.
[3] Ps. i. 4; cf. also Ps. xxxiv. 5, Hoseas xiii. 3.

The corn is always carefully measured before it is stored up or sold. The owner places the measure between his legs, fills it about three-quarters full, gives it a vigorous shake with a rotatory motion and then pours in more corn up to the top. He now presses down the grain with the full strength of his hands and pours in a fresh supply, making a conical mound rising above the measure. He pats this to press it together, and continues at the same time to make little hollows at the top and fill them until not a grain more can be held. Our Lord makes a concise but very comprehensive allusion to this operation when recommending charity and describing its reward: "Give and it shall be given to you: good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom; for with the same measure that you shall mete withal it shall be measured to you again."[1] The words "into your bosom" refer to the fact that the pocket in the east is the ample receptacle in the loose tunic above the tightly drawn girdle.

As the corn still contains many impurities—small stones, particles of clay, seeds of cockle, darnel, tares—it must be sifted before it is ground. This is usually done by women. "The sieve allows the smaller impurities to pass through; but the larger foreign bodies have to be picked out by the hand or removed by sifting. This is effected by shaking the sieve with a peculiar circular motion which gradually collects the light grains, bits of straw, seeds, etc., to some spot at the side furthest from the woman holding it, when by a dexterous jerk they are all thrown out and the corn is left clean."[2] The dexterity of the sifter is clearly alluded to in the following passage of the prophet Amos: "I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in the sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth."[3] The Vulgate rendering of the last clause, "and there shall not a little stone fall to the ground," misinterprets the Hebrew word for grain and thus reverses

[1] Luke vi. 38. [2] Wilson, *Peasant Life*, p. 122-3. [3] Amos ix. 9.

the action of the sifter. We are all familiar with Our Lord's words to St. Peter: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat."[1] Satan hoped that the Apostles might be proved unsound by the sifting of temptation and cast out from the communion of Christ; but Peter's faith, secured by Christ's prayer, was to defeat that expectation. "But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."

The primitive hand-mills of Biblical times are still used to grind the corn. The mill consists of two flat circular stones about half a yard in diameter and very heavy. The nether stone has a wooden plug in the centre to which an iron pin is attached. On this pin or pivot the upper stone revolves, being turned by means of a wooden handle near the edge. The grain is poured into an aperture in the centre, which is partially closed by a piece of hard wood with a hole in the middle for the pin to pass through. A tiny stream of flour falls into a vessel or cloth underneath. The grinding is very laborious and is done by women, of whom two usually work together to relieve each other: "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken and the other shall be left."[2] It is a bitter grievance in the Lamentations of Jeremias that the Assyrians made the young men of Israel grind corn in the mill.[3] And the Philistines assigned this difficult and degrading task to the captive Samson, shorn of his strength.[4]

As all the villagers do their grinding each day at the same hour, the regular recurrence of the peculiar and not unpleasing noise made by the millstones is typical of peaceful village life. Hence St. John in the Apocalypse describes the ruin of "Babylon the great" by saying: "The sound of the mill shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of the lamp shall be seen no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and the bride

[1] Luke xxii. 31-32. [2] Matt. xxiv. 41. [3] Lam. v. 13. [4] Judges xvi. 21.

shall be heard no more at all in thee."[1] In this he re-echoes the desolation of Israel during the Babylonian captivity as prophesied by Jeremias : " And I will take away from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the voice of the mill and the light of the lamp."[2] The close connection between the voice of the mill and the light of the lamp is not accidental, for the grinding is done in the early morning before the night-lamp is extinguished. We can thus understand what exactly the valiant woman in the Book of Proverbs did when " she rose while it was still night and provided food for her household."[3] Similarly the still existing practice of grinding each morning only the amount necessary for the day's sustenance explains the law of Deuteronomy that forbade a millstone to be taken in pledge.[4] A household deprived of its millstone would be exposed to starvation.

The meal has now to be made into bread. For that purpose it is mixed with salt and water, and kneaded into stiff dough. A piece of sour or fermented dough from the last kneading is generally used to leaven it. Yeast is unknown. The dough is then put into a warm corner and kept there until the whole is leavened. This practice forms the subject of one of Our Lord's parables : " The kingdom of heaven is like to leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened."[5] More usually the comparison of the leaven, which corrupts as well as pervades the mass of dough, is used in a pejorative sense. Thus Christ warns the disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees[6] and St. Paul enjoins us to free ourselves of the old leaven of our natural corruption.[7]

The Palestinians have three different ways of baking bread, all of which are mentioned in the Old Testament. The most primitive and expeditious of these, that employed for instance by Sarah[8] and Lot[9] when hastily

[1] Apocalypse xviii. 22. [2] Jer. xxv. 10 ; cf. also Ecclesiastes xii. 4.
[3] Proverbs xxxi. 15. [4] Deut. xxiv. 6. [5] Luke xiii. 21. [6] Matt. xvi. 11.
[7] 1 Cor. v. 7. [8] Gen. xviii. 6. [9] Gen. xix. 3.

preparing a meal for their angelic visitors, is still very common among the Bedouins. Flat unleavened cakes are spread on a layer of small stones (previously well heated), and are covered over with embers and hot ashes until they are baked. These are the "cakes baked on small stones"[1] of the Hebrew text, which is freely but accurately rendered in the Vulgate, *panis subcinericius*—bread baked under the ashes. Another method of baking, mentioned in Leviticus[2] and Chronicles[3] and common enough among Bedouins and Libanese, is less novel to us. Thin unleavened cakes are laid on a convex circular plate of iron, supported by three stones, and heated by a fire of sticks underneath.

But the oven is the great resource of the Palestinian villager. This is a dome-shaped clay vessel, like a shallow inverted basin with the bottom knocked out. Underneath is a pavement of small stones about a yard in diameter, and there is a clay lid for the top to be put on during the baking. The oven is first thoroughly heated. Then the cakes are either made adhere to its sides or laid on the pavement; and the hot embers are heaped all round. The baking is done in a few minutes. The fuel employed is that mentioned in the Gospel[4] and Ezechiel[5]—grass, twigs, the refuse of the threshing floor and the droppings of cattle. As the poorer peasants cannot provide enough of this for their own baking, an oven at the present day is usually the joint property of four or five families. One is reminded of the threat in Leviticus that Jewish infidelity would be punished by such poverty that ten women would bake their bread in one oven.[6]

Customs connected with the use of the vine, the olive and the fig must await a future article.

EDMOND POWER.

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[1] 3 Kings xix. 6. [2] Lev. ii., 5. [3] 1 Par. ix. 31.
[4] Matt. vi. 30. [5] Ezechiel iv. 15. [6] Lev. xxvi. 26.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

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SHORTLY after the passing of the National University Act in 1908 the writer, under the pseudonym of "Farmer Tom," attempted, by letters to several leading Irish papers, to focus attention on the fact that no provision was made for the teaching of agriculture either at Queen's University, Belfast, or at any of the Constituent Colleges of the National University. Many things have happened since 1908—notably a World War, which amongst other things has taught us how dependent Ireland, essentially an agricultural country, was and still is on imported foodstuffs.

Before the war the tillage area in Ireland had been decreasing at an average rate of 10,000 acres per annum; so that our agricultural position in 1914 found us with only 15 per cent. of our 20,000,000 available acres under the plough, the remaining 85 per cent. being laid down to nation-killing grass. Concomitant with this tillage decline we were exporting the youth of the country at the rate of about 20,000 annually, and importing again annually—not men—but foreign foodstuffs to the value of about £16,000,000. A large portion of this imported food consisted of maize, or as it is known in the country, yellow meal. This product was very largely used for pig feeding, in fact in pre-war days one would be safe in saying that 50 per cent. of so-called Irish bacon represented yellow

meal re-converted into bacon by Irish pigs. To a large extent yellow meal was replacing Irish wheat for human consumption in the form of " Soda bread," so that in 1916, when importation of yellow meal ceased, we had the somewhat Gilbertian position of the residents of palaces concerned over the yellow peril, while the humble Irish peasant was perhaps more concerned over what the writer described as the " yellow meal peril."

At the moment of writing we in Ireland are faced with a famine of milk, meat, bacon, butter and food products generally, and anyone who scans the daily press will learn that, in the opinion of the farmers, the scarcity is mainly due to the shortage of foreign foodstuffs. That there is something wrong with the agricultural polity of this country, when such a state of things exists, is too self-evident to need discussion. But what is wrong ?

Well, nobody but a fool or a politician will attempt to dogmatise about Ireland, and with this reservation the writer, who has devoted in one capacity or another fifteen years to the study of Irish agriculture, who is familiar with the agriculture of every county in Ireland and has lived for several years in each of the Irish provinces, may be able to contribute some useful ideas on agricultural education. In the first place, it is a truism—or ought to be—that, in formulating or suggesting educational schemes for a people, it is essential that the mental outlook of the people themselves should be considered. One must study things at the fount. In this connexion perhaps I shall have some unpleasant things to say, and the more unpleasant unfortunately the more true.

Throughout the age of literature writers and thinkers have vied with each other in their attempts to give a dignity to the occupation of the tiller of the soil. Long before the dawn of Christianity a Sanscrit writer said : " The ploughers are the linchpin of the world." And Cicero : " Of all things from which any gain is obtained there is nothing better than agriculture, nothing more productive,

nothing sweeter, *nothing more worthy of a man.*" Ancient Gaelic literature teems with similar allusions, whilst Dean Swift's reference—or was the conception if not the words Bishop Berkeley's ?—to the honour due to the man who maketh two blades of grass grow where one grew before is familiar to the street arabs of our cities.

What, though, does one find when one comes to discuss the dignity of agriculture with the Irish farmer or farmer's son ? That there is no occupation held in such low repute. Does an Irish farmer, who expends money on the education of his son, expect that son to return to the land ? Not in the least. If the boy enters the Church, the prestige of the whole family is enhanced. In a country where the worship of God is still the dominant factor in the lives of the peasantry that is easily understood and commendable. I am, however, discussing lay occupations, and it is my experience that the farmer's son, if not intended for the Church, generally ambitions someone of what we call the professions. He may strive to become a doctor, a lawyer, even a civil servant. Failing these, he may become a minor clerk in a business house, from which exalted position of patched poverty he looks down with supreme contempt on his farming brothers. It is only those who have lived and worked amongst the Irish peasantry who have any conception with what contempt the industry of agriculture is viewed by the peasantry themselves. The daughters of farmers in many instances are ashamed to be seen by a stranger milking cows or feeding pigs.

There are at present many young men, highminded and intellectual, who are intent on giving us an entirely new national polity—men brave enough to back their opinions with their lives. But it is well for them to remember that, no matter what the political gods may have in store for us, we can never have a happy and prosperous country until the outlook of our Irish peasantry is completely changed, until all these notions of false pride are eliminated

until agriculture is really recognised as the most dignified of occupations. These leaders must remember that it requires greater courage to face Irish facts than to face British bayonets.

The reader may think the writer has wandered from his subject. "Plough deep if you would ensure a good crop; don't skim the surface." Let us plough deep, right down into the subsoil, when discussing Irish agricultural education. At the Belfast University and at two of the University Colleges arrangements have been or are being made for the establishment of Professorships of Agriculture. It should be the concern of every thinking man and woman to see that those schemes of agricultural education are conducted in such a manner as to train men for the land, *not to wean them from it.* The latter is the great danger. How is this danger to be avoided? How shall we ensure that the farmer's son—when equipped with a university education—will return to the land and put his scientific knowledge to practical application on the land? Perhaps the writer can best answer the questions by describing the scheme of an agricultural education which, for the past three years, has been carried out under his direction at Queen's University, Belfast.

In the first instance it is necessary to state that, prior to the commencement of the scheme, there was in existence an arrangement between the University authorities and the Department of Agriculture, by which a student wishing to study agriculture and proceed to a degree in Agricultural Science, could spend two years at the University and complete his course—another two years—at the College of Science in Dublin. No student had ever come forward to avail of this scheme. A similar arrangement exists between the National University and the Department, and with similar results, I believe. The scheme, in my opinion, is wrong in conception. During the two years at the University the students take out the ordinary Science course, in which Agriculture is never mentioned. Now, a

farmer who sends his son for two years to a University—as an agricultural student—naturally expects him, at the end of this period, to have gleaned at least some agricultural knowledge, to be able—to use the phraseology of the farmer—" to give an odd wrinkle " about (say) manuring a bit of bog or upland. But no, the student has not the most elementary knowledge of agricultural science.

Further, if it be admitted that Irish agriculture stands more in need of nurses than doctors, or rather of students who can apply science as well as talk about it, then the fact of studying pure science alone for the first two years causes a student to lose what little knowledge of agriculture he may have possessed before entering on his course. Let us hark back to the need for studying the agricultural mental attitude of our peasantry. Take any average farmer's son, whose only idea of agriculture gathered from his own experience is that farm work is weary drudgery, and place him for four years in any one of our cities, with little or no opportunity of keeping in contact with the soil. Will that boy return to a country life? Certainly not. He is studying, with the same object as his engineering, medical and other contemporaries, purely and solely for the purpose of getting a job—a collar and cuff job, no matter how badly paid. I speak facts. Of the number of agriculture graduates that have passed through the Dublin College of Science, I doubt if more than two per cent. are engaged in practical agriculture. Those who were not lucky enough to get a situation under the Department—well, I don't know where they have drifted to, but they are not farming. That there was need for the Department to train men for official positions everybody admits, and those who, like myself, have had an opportunity of comparing the type of men employed under the Department with the agricultural instructors produced in other countries will congratulate the Department on the results. But the time has arrived when training, and university training at that, should aim, not at creating degree or diploma men, but

students who go to the University solely with the object of returning to the land and putting their scientific knowledge into practice.

These were the writer's ideas when he accepted the invitation to take up the organisation of agricultural education in Belfast University, and fortunately they were the ideas of those who generously contributed the necessary finances and farms to put the ideas into practice. In fact these public-spirited gentlemen, composed chiefly of Belfast merchants and farmers, were prompted to subscribe what was known as the Agricultural Guarantee Fund (totalling about £2,000), solely with the object of supplying scientific training to farmers' sons who wished to return to the land. As to the scheme itself, space will not admit of many details ; but briefly the course was in the strictest sense an applied scientific course. It was of four months' duration, commencing in November and terminating at the end of February, the students attending five days per week. The subjects dealt with were Agricultural Meteorology, Agricultural Botany, Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Entomology, Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Engineering, and Farm Accountancy. Each of the professors and lecturers concerned arranged his work in consultation with the writer and in close co-operation with each other.

Of course, one does not expect to give much scientific knowledge in four months ; but the knowledge imparted was—in the words of one of the students—something a man could take home with him and use, something distinctly practical. For instance, to take the subject of Chemistry as an example, a brief outline of the general chemical laws and of the characteristics of the chief chemical elements and compounds was given. These lectures were supplemented by special laboratory work on the following lines. Dr. Macbeth, the Acting Professor of Chemistry—and fortunately country-bred also—with the writer, devised a series of simple chemical tests by means of which a student,

without the necessity of understanding the chemical principles involved, could obtain a very good insight into the manurial requirements of a soil. Then special lectures were given on the chemical and physical characteristics of manures. Finally, samples of soils were taken from the different fields on one of the University demonstration farms, the students were informed how each field was to be cropped during the year, and were then asked to diagnose the manurial requirements of the field and prescribe a manurial dressing. It really was surprising how much headway the students made in this direction.

The instruction, however—a most important point—did not finish in the laboratory ; it only commenced there. Manurial plots were put down on each of the fields, and the students were thus enabled to compare their laboratory work with actual field results.

Demonstration Farms.—In agricultural educational circles in England and Scotland and America there has recently been much discussion on the utility of field demonstration plots. These plots generally consist of a quarter or half an acre of land, manured, tilled and seeded in some special manner, and designed with the object of demonstrating to the farmer the advantage to be gained by adopting the special cultural methods. They undoubtedly serve a very useful purpose, but their utility has been very much overrated. Paradoxical as it will at first appear to those not engaged in practical agriculture, the fact that any man equipped with scientific knowledge can easily, *on a small demonstration plot*, increase the average yield by 50 or 100 per cent., is no argument that the improved methods can be applied to the farm as a whole. Why so ? Well, the reasons are many. Suppose, for instance, the increased cost per acre of the improved methods is £3, a small farmer of 50 acres has often not the capital to apply the new method to his entire farm. If he has the capital, then he may not have the labour, or the equipment ; and if he has all three, he has not the weather. Just one more

point, a very important one indeed. The fact that it is possible to obtain a yield of 5 tons of potatoes on a quarter acre of land, that is 20 tons per acre, does not prove that 200 tons of potatoes can be raised on ten acres. Why ? Because it is possible, in ordinary practice, to give far more attention to a small area of land than to a large area. To make the point still clearer. The thinning and hoeing of (say) a crop of mangolds just at the right moment will often increase the yield by 10 or 15 tons to the acre. But in farming practice, owing to labour and climatic difficulties, the work of thinning and hoeing mangolds often has to be delayed three or four weeks. And so with other crops.

In any event Ireland has nothing to learn from other countries as regards demonstration plots. This feature of agricultural education has been extremely well attended to by the Department of Agriculture and its Instructors. Every year there are over 2,000 such plots in Ireland, cropped under the immediate supervision of the Department's Instructors. The important distinction between a demonstration farm and a demonstration plot is that the entire area comprising the farm is cropped and managed on scientific, practical and business lines, under exactly the same conditions as regards labour, climate and market fluctuations that the ordinary farmer has to contend with.

In connexion with the scheme we are discussing there were several such farms, and it is very important to state that these farms, whilst worked under the auspices of the University, were not the property of the University. They belonged to private individuals, and in some cases to the students themselves. In the event of the scheme being continued or a similar scheme started at other Universities, I would strongly recommend in every instance the selection of demonstration farms which are the property of a student or a student's father. There are very sound reasons for this opinion. If a University or other public institution embark on farming as a business pro-

position, difficulties are met with, chiefly as regards the demands of labour, which the ordinary farmer has not to contend with. Further, if these difficulties do not occur, then no matter how good the financial results may be, the ordinary farmer will put forward the objection that such farms are capitalised in a manner quite impossible to the ordinary farmer.

Much stupid criticism has often been advanced against the Department of Agriculture, because they have not published balance sheets in connexion with the farms which they own. Suppose balance sheets relating to these farms were published, probably it would be found that they were not paying. Well, the object of experimental farming—as is the case with all experimental work—is not profit-making. Such farms are or ought to be kept purely for research purposes.

Nevertheless there is the greatest possible need throughout Ireland for demonstration farms, worked on scientific, practical and business lines, whose sole object is to show by published balance sheets what the practical results of working an entire farm on applied scientific lines are likely to be, and also to serve as training centres for students. There would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining such farms in any part of Ireland. Neither would there be any difficulty in obtaining students who would attend winter courses at Universities during one or two winters and spend the rest of the year on a demonstration farm. As a final word, what the hospital is to the medical students, or the " shops " to the engineering student, the demonstration farm would be to the agricultural student.

As to the response which has attended our efforts at Belfast, it need only be said that the total number of students attending the course was 76. Of these, 66 were Irish farmers or farmers' sons ; the remaining ten were past students of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Durham, who were attracted to Ireland by the applied scientific nature of the course. One mentions this fact

with interest as being the first occasion when students from English universities crossed to Ireland in quest of agricultural knowledge. There will not be need for such emigration in future as *applied* agricultural science, whether due to the writer's prolonged advocacy or not, is now receiving in England, Wales and Scotland the attention it deserves.

A Final Word.—We must get beneath the surface; we must realise that our peasantry are not stupid, but intelligent, endowed with an aptitude for the practical and a respect for learning. What a difference would it mean to features other than agricultural of our Irish life if we had scattered about the country young university-trained men, content to walk in the humble but honourable track of the plough, men who, instead of looking on farming as drudgery—and (without a scientific insight) it is drudgery—would regard their calling as one in which the highest intellect could engage. Then there would be little talk of the mental stagnation of rural life. Then would it be realised that on the land a real intellectual life can exist, "that the very ridges are breathing mystery and the leaves whispering secrets to each other, that only by thoughts on Nature and the problems of Nature can the human mind grow and draw nearer to the Master Mind that laid down the world's foundations."

T. Wibberley.

REX A LIGNO.

I.

I WANDERED through the forest gloom one day
Where oak and chestnut twine caressingly
Their arms across the unfrequented way,
And whisper hearted secrets ceaselessly :
I heard the multitudinous things that be
In nature's bosom moving soft and fleet
O'er verdant lawn and in each glooming tree ;
No other stir jarred on the silence sweet,
Or broke the solitude of my intense retreat.

II.

Lo, here, methought, in this most verdant bower,
May ancient Pan still hold his regal home,
Still exercise as once his shuddering power
O'er luckless wights who venture here to come,
Who through the darkling greenwood fearless roam
With aims whate'er most pure and innocent . . .
Such was my thought beneath the leafy dome
Of powerful Pan. Was yet his reigning spent,
Or lorded he this state from branchéd battlement ?

III.

Amid swift-lightening trees I gained the verge
Of one small open plain that islet-wise
Sleeps calm amid the forest's verdant surge ;
On either side two oaks opposed arise,
Like lovers smit with ancient jealousies.
And, in their midst, beneath an iron shrine,
Wrought all around with many a strange device,
Stands upright in the mead a solemn sign,—
Hangs, crucified and crowned with thorn, the Man Divine !

IV.

I kneel abashed and smitten to my King;
My throbbing heart retracts ere yet my lips
The clinging treason of my thought; I bring
A searéd loyalty to One Who drips
With priceless Blood that is its price, and strips
Himself of all for faithful love! I trow
Too oft my traitor hand from His clasp slips
As now my thought. O Love! At last I know
That Thou art monarch here; O Love, Thy wrath forego!

H. M. Gaffney.

PAN'S VILLANELLE.

A GOD I was, until He came.
Once worshipped, now a memory,
I died in His last hour of shame.

He healed the lepers, blind, and lame,
And loved all things eternally.
A god I was, until He came.

His body, men were soon to maim . . .
He cried out in Gethsemani.
I died in His last hour of shame.

He brought dark sorrow into fame,
Whilst laughter was the soul of me.
A god I was, until He came.

Hard hearts there were, Love could not tame.
They stripped Him, hung Him on a tree.
I died in His last hour of shame.

Immortal power is in His name,
And men, the sons of God should be.
A god I was, until He came . . .
I died in his last hour of shame.

Armel O'Connor.

DARKNESS.

DARKNESS comes to my door,
And silently and tenderly,
And scarcely heard by me,
He walks across my floor,

And delicate fingers lays
My weary, weary eyes above,
Upon my brow with love
His tender hand delays;

And soft as far-off wings
That slowly rise and slowly fall,
Or softest song of all,
A lullaby he sings.

The immemorial
And shadowy pinions veil my face,
And in his vast embrace
I lie forgetting all.

CATHAOIR O'BRAONAIN.

FUNERAL SONG.

(From the Chinese).

THE dew that lies
On the leaf
Soon dries,
Yet quickly falls
Anew from the skies.
But the man we bear
In our grief
To the grave
Unto longing eyes
Never, ah, never again shall rise

G. O'NEILL.

NIGHT.

BEFORE the onslaught of the night the day,
Desperately guarding his last stronghold, died
Among the flaming hills, where ray on ray
Flickered and fell like Lucifer in pride.
Then silent clamour filled the heights of heaven
With shouts of colour the eyes can see, and cheers
Of painted music, as the planets seven
Bore down the failing twilight with their spears.

And while the winds made mournful requiem
Over that battlefield heroical,
Chaunting slain captains and the deeds of them—
The night rode by upon the moon with all
The armies of the stars in slow procession,
Taking the earth and skies for her possession.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

CREATION.

DOWN from His throne God bent and waved his Hand,
And arrowy glows fled through the black abyss;
Vast stars and suns bloomed with a showered hiss
From nothingness; while flaming rainbows spanned
And flung their gold allurement o'er the strand
Of swirling spheres uphung to gem and light
The dark primeval gorges of the Night
Crowned now with loveliness as God had planned.

Then, from afar, our rosy orb was seen,
Sublime with mountains, bright with damasked green,
—Lawn hollows and umbrageous towering wood,
'Mid sapphire throned, with bannered clouds between.
And the Almighty murmured, "It is good!"
And o'er creation streamed a radiant Rood!

CHARLES J. QUIRK.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

VII.—On a Gaelic Miscellany.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

The following graceful verses, by the same author as the Irish poem in the last number of STUDIES, were apparently written on the Continent, and meant to accompany a manuscript which was to be presented to Aodh Ó Domhnaill. This may have been the young son of Cathbharr, brother of the Earl of Tyrconnell. Aodh was an infant when he was taken to the Continent in 1607. The date of the poem is uncertain.

The text is from the Book of the O'Conor Don. OSBORN BERGIN.

Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird cc.

1. A leabhráin ainmnighther d'Aodh,
atá libh léighionn neamhdhaor,
go hInis bfódghloin na bFionn,
bhus milis d'ógbhuidh[1] Eirionn.

2. Atá a tteanguidh ar máthar
sonn—ga saoire soláthar ?—
léighionn bhus cian ar cuimhne
a bfiadh Eirionn iathghuirme.[2]

3. Atá arna tionól sonna
cnuasach glan déas[3] ndíoghloma,
do thriath sluaghaidh Gulban Guirt,[4]
as cluanuidh ughdar n-ordhuirc.

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[1] dógbuibh MS. [2] iothghuirme MS. [3] déis MS. [4] ghuirt MS.

4. Teagusc diadha ar a dhruim sin,
eolus ealadhna an ghaisgidh,
d'iath Eirionn agoibh anois,
léighionn caguidh is cunntois.

5. Ag ceangal chairdeas a síodh,
ag toirmeasg uilc is fhairbríogh,[1]
nó ag triall caguidh gi-bé bheas,
ní habuidh é acht led t'oideas.

6. Meic[2] eagailsi gidh iad ann,
tarbhach don lucht ros-léaghann,
'san ord ghaisgidh gi-bé bheas,
bhur bhfaigsin ní hé a aimhleas.

7. Aodh Ó Domhnaill, dóthchus cáigh,
arnad léaghadh, a leabhráin,
a bfuil leibh labhair iar soin,
ná ceil ar dhaghfhuil nDáluigh.

8. Ar Shíol nEoghain, druim ar dhruim,
nó ar laochraidh Chinél cConuill,
ná bíodh t'fhoilcheas, toill a ttoil,
oircheas roinn ris an ríoghraidh.

9. Ná ar neach don chloinn charfus sibh,
Ir, Eiriomhóin nó Eibhir,[3]
nó Luighdheach mheic Iotha fhéil,
ní bad[4] sgíotha ód reic riúiséin.

10. Ní bad sgíotha dot sgéulaibh
na Búrcaigh, na Builtéaruigh,
na Gearoltuigh do thuill toil
tar seanfholtaibh fhuinn Fhionntoin.

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[1] fairbríogh MS. [2] Mic MS. [3] Eimhir MS. [4] badh MS.

11. Ar neach do shliocht Gaoidhil Ghlais
ná ceil gach iúl dá n-úarais,[1]
ná ar Sheanghallaibh fóid[2] na bhFionn,
lér cheanglamair óig Eirionn.

12. Meic ollamhan Innsi Fáil,
beid romhuibh lán do lúthgháir,
god choimhreic ó bheól go bél,
budh oirdhreic t'eôl san oilén.

13. Tabhair ar gach n-aon umhla
don aos eagnoidh ealadhna;
connailbhe as dú ris an dreim,
tú ar a ccomairghe cuireim.

14. Ar son go sealbhuighim sibh
d'U Dhomhnaill tar fonn[3] bFionntain,
an fonn ar gach taobh tiomchuil,
ronn ris gach n-aon d'Eirionnchaibh.

15. Ar nGaoidhil ar bFionnghoill féin
beannacht tré dhíograis dóibhséin
beir mo bheannacht go fonn bFáil
beannacht sonn leibh, a leabhráin.

A leabhráin.

[1] bfhúarais MS. [2] fhóid MS [3] fhonn MS.

Translation.

1. O little book that bearest Aodh's name, in thee is ample lore, bound for the Island of the Fair, of bright sward, lore that will be sweet to Ireland's hosts.
2. Here in our mother tongue—what provision could be nobler?—is learning that will long be remembered in the land of Erin of green meadows.
3. Here is gathered a fair store of ears of corn gleaned from the field of famous authors for the leader of the host of Gulban Guirt.[1]
4. Godly instruction besides, and knowledge of the art of arms, thou hast now for the land of Erin, with training in warfare and computation.
5. Whoso may be forming friendships in peace, thwarting evil and persecution, or undertaking war, he is not ripe without thy teaching.
6. Even for sons of the Church—well for those who read them—and whoso may follow the profession of arms, it is no loss to such to look at thee.
7. When Aodh Ó Domhnaill, hope of his country, has read thee, O booklet, utter what thou hast thereafter, hide it not from Dálach's good line.
8. From the race of Eoghan,[2] one by one, or from the warriors of Cinél gConaill,[3] conceal nothing; win their regard; it is fitting to share with the princes.
9. Nor from those who will love thee, descendants of Ir, Eireamhón or Eibhear,[4] or of Lughaidh, son of generous Ioth—they will not be weary of hearing thee recited.
10. The Burkes and the Butlers will not be weary of thy tales, nor the Geraldines who won affection beyond the old families of Fintan's[5] land.
11. Conceal from the race of Gaoidheal Glas[6] no knowledge that thou hast found, nor from the Old English of the land of the Fair, with whom we, the warriors of Ireland, have united.
12. The sons of the poets of Inis Fáil will be full of joy to greet thee, repeating thee from mouth to mouth; knowledge of thee will be famous in the island.
13. Show reverence to everyone of the wise craftsmen; to them affection is due; I put thee under their protection.
14. Though I present thee to Ó Domhnaill above all in Fintan's land, go around the land on every side, share with every Irishman.
15. Our own Gaels and Fair Foreigners,[7] blessings on them with sincerity. Take my blessing to the land of Fál, a blessing go with thee now, little book.

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[1] Beann Gulban Guirt, in English Benbulbin, a mountain in the northern part of Co. Sligo, which formerly belonged to Ulster. Gulban Guirt seems to occur only in the genitive; the nominative may have been Gulba Guirt (or Gort).

[2] Ancestor of the O'Neills of Tyrone, etc.

[3] The O'Donnells, etc., of Tirconnell.

[4] Sons of Mil, ancestor of the Milesians, whose cousin was Lughaidh.

[5] Fintan son of Bóchra, fabled to have survived the Deluge and lived till the sixth century A.D.

[6] Eponymous ancestor of the Gaels.

[7] Fionnghoill, formerly applied to the Norwegians, here apparently equivalent to Seanghoill, or Anglo-Normans.

SHAKESPEARE FROM A NEW ANGLE.[1]

BY W. J. LAWRENCE.

IN the matter of play-labelling it is curious to note how modern scholars have foisted upon sixteenth-century England terms it did not use and probably would not have comprehended, while they have ignored certain useful classifications with which the closing years of that century were familiar. It has long been customary for historians of the early English Drama to write with glib assuredness of "mysteries and moralities," using terms taken from the French to indicate what were really known in their own day as guild plays and morals. As for the graver error of omission, it would appear that scholars have deceived themselves into the belief that Polonius's voluble outflow of dramatic nomenclature was for its time over-bounteous in its comprehensiveness, forgetful of the fact that the garrulous old chamberlain managed somehow to overlook two descriptions in popular use among the later Elizabethans. This oversight on his part is all the more extraordinary since there are cogent reasons for believing that Shakespeare himself had already written two plays belonging to one of the missing categories.

Although the broad play-classifications in the final years of Elizabeth's reign consisted, as we know from their personification in the induction to *A Warning for Faire Women*, of Tragedy, Comedy and History, there are clear indications that already these were far from sufficing.

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[1] This paper is a revision and condensation of a lecture delivered during the period of the Great War at Harvard, Princeton, Columbia and other American Universities.

Whether or no some of the amazing compound epithets in Polonius's breathless list satirize a contemporary weakness for nice distinctions, the existence of other popular labellings besides the well-known triad, a year or two before the production of *Hamlet*, is demonstrated in a passage in that mysterious hotch-potch, *Histriomastix, or the Player Whipt*, an anonymous burlesque of sundry popular plays of the hour, seasoned with covert assaults on their authors and interpreters. This piece may be confidently assigned to 1598, as a passing allusion to it is to be found in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, produced early in 1599. In the form in which it has come down to us it is commonly spoken of as a revision of an earlier play, but the evidence generally advanced in support of this theory mostly admits of ready confutation. Of equal doubtfulness is its assignment in whole or part by a concensus of latter-day critical opinion to John Marston.

One cannot think of *Histriomastix* for long without recalling Swinburne's vehement tirade over its puerilities —"an abortion of letters," "a very moon-calf begotten by malice on idiocy." Exasperated at not being able to read its riddle off-hand, he sought to place the luckless satire on the Index Expurgatorius by confidently predicting that "no human creature above the intellectual level of its authors will ever dream of attempting to decipher the insignificant significance which may possibly —though improbably—be latent under the opaque veil of its inarticulate virulence."

But the historian of to-day, not a whit intimidated by this intrepid warning-off of thirty years ago, chooses to see in the play a document of sterling importance, and that too despite the fact that some of its hieroglyphics refuse to yield their secret to the paleographer. To him its abiding attraction lies in the circumstance that it forms one of a group of old plays directly associated with what is known in the jargon of Elizabethan scholarship as "The War of the Theatres."

To me *Histriomastix* is in many ways grateful, and in none more so than in proving the existence of the aforesaid new play-labellings. In the second act occurs a scene in which the Usher asks the strollers for a list of their plays, and is told by Post-Haste, their spokesman, that they are ready to act "*Mother Gurton's Needle* (a tragedy); *The Devil and Dives* (a comedie); *A Russet Coat and A Knave's Cap* (an infernall); *The Widow's Apron-Strings* (a nocturnall)." As one of these plays, at least, the primitive comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, was a real play, and as another, *The Devil and Dives*, is self-classifying, there was a laugh in the list, inasmuch as Post-Haste had indulged in an obvious misapplication of terms. *The Devil and Dives* must surely have been an infernal, and not a comedy; for it needs no ghost from the grave to tell us that an infernal was a play with devils in it. Although no other known instance of the use of the technicality has come down to us, it does not appear to be (as has been suggested to me privately by an authority on the Elizabethan Drama) a mere coinage of the dramatist for the purpose of the moment. It is only by assuming its regular employment that one can account for and comprehend that curious direction in the fourth act of Marston's *Wonder of Women*: "Infernall musicke playes softly, whilest Erictha enters, and, when she speakes, ceaseth." We can see now from this that certain strains of music—a sort of primitive *leit-motif*—were associated with the entry of evil spirits.

Whether or not it be conceded that "infernal" was a real technicality, no such doubt can be entertained as to "nocturnal." There is an abundance of evidence to show that the latter was for long in popular usage. The only difficulty in connexion with it is to determine its precise meaning. Interesting as it is *per se*, the second reference in point of time to the nocturnal brings us no nearer to our quest. It will be recalled that Marston's comedy, *What You Will*, was acted by the Paul's boys in 1601, and,

like the mysterious piece which has been attributed to him, formed one of the group of Theatre-War plays. In the induction—largely written to account for the ambiguous title of the piece—Doricus inquires whether the play about to be presented is "a comedy, tragedy, pastoral, moral, nocturnal or a history."

Happily, however, within a lustrum, that gentle humorist and all but great poet, Thomas Dekker, comes to abate our perplexity. To appreciate Dekker best in his capacity of pamphleteer, one must constantly bear in mind that his whole soul was so wrapped up in the theatre that, no matter what the subject in hand, he was rarely felicitous save when expressing himself in its terms. Hence his allusiveness is seldom on the surface. An apposite example of this occurs in *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, a pamphlet issued in 1606. In the section entitled "Candle-Light, or the Nocturnal Tryumph" we find him presenting Candlelight as a personification :—

> No sooner was he advanced up into the moste famous streetes, but a number of shops for joy beganne to shut in : mercers rolled up their silkes and velvets ; the goldsmithes drew backe their plate, and all the Citty lookt like a private Play-house, when the windows are clapt downe, as if some *Nocturnall*, or dismall *Tragedy* were presently to be acted before all the Tradesmen.

Hitherto the significance of this passage has escaped the scholar, chiefly because he has ignored the import of the italics and read the word "nocturnall" in an adjectival sense. But, the specialist apart, there is another phrase in the passage which is sadly liable to misinterpretation by the layman or young student. It is not too much to say, indeed, that to him no term in common Elizabethan use proves quite so frequent a stumbling block as "private theatre." He generally takes it to mean a playhouse for amateurs where admission is by invitation only, a type of house utterly unknown in Dekker's day. At that period there were two kinds of London playhouses,

usually distinguished as the public and the private. Broadly speaking, the one was a summer and the other a winter house. The public playhouse was a large, open-roofed building where acting took place by natural light in the afternoon. The private playhouse was small and covered-in ; and, though its auditorium depended on the sun for its lighting, the regions of the stage were illuminated by lamps and candles. It was in reality equally public with the public theatre, the only difference lying in a certain superiority of audience due to the charging of higher rates for admission.

Dekker's quaint simile does not imply that nocturnals were given only at private theatres ; but it does imply that it was at the private theatres only that the windows were clapped down for the performance of nocturnals. And just here it is vital that we should pause and ask ourselves what Dekker meant by the clapping down of windows. To interpret his phraseology in a modern sense would be disastrous. In Elizabethan days the word " window " had a much wider significance and was more loosely employed than now. Sometimes it was used to imply an opening and sometimes a shutter. Shakespeare presses it into service in both senses, but more graphically in the latter. As exemplified in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Cymbeline*, he has a trick of alluding to the eyelids as " the windows of the eye," a metaphor confounding to the commentator until it dawns upon him that the reference is to the descending solid wooden windows with which the old London shop-keepers closed up their stalls. It is clearly to windows of this order that Dekker refers when he speaks of clapping-down. There must have been special fittings of the sort for private theatres. Elsewhere they could have been of no utility, for it is obvious that in a large unroofed summer theatre the darkening of the windows would not cause any serious diminution of the light, certainly not such as would give the illusion of night to the performance.

One other point requires to be emphasized. Because of the method of auditorium-lighting there were a good many windows in the private theatre, some of them doubtless in positions difficult of access. It is not to be thought of, therefore, that the windows were blinded merely to produce a transient effect. The trouble would not have been taken for anything less than a complete act of darkness.

Here, then, we have a clue to one of the main characteristics of the nocturnal. We are debarred at the outset from reckoning in this *genre* a great many plays of the Pre-Restoration era which present an occasional unimportant night-scene or several disjointed scenes of the sort. This narrows the issue very considerably. Proceeding on our course of elimination, we begin by confining our inquiry to the latter half of Elizabeth's reign. Next we discard all tragedies from the list, since Dekker, in speaking of " dismall Tragedy " in the same breath that he mentions nocturnals, clearly shows that the nocturnal had no tragic element. A careful examination of the residue and a minute noting of points of resemblance lead inevitably to the conclusion that the nocturnal was a species of comedy, rustic or urban, presenting an unbroken sequence of more or less complicated night scenes, monopolizing at the very least one entire act of the play. Also that the nocturnal element was generally infused rather towards the end than the beginning ; and that the humorous embroilment almost wholly arose out of sundry mistakes committed in the dark. Implicit in the scheme was the understanding that the audience was to be from first to last in the secret, a tacit agreement which obviated the necessity for any deep realisation of the gloom of night.

While the Infernal had its roots in the early religious drama and had arrived at considerable maturity long before the coming of the first organised theatre, the Nocturnal, on the other hand, was purely a child of the

playhouse. Born in the opening years of Shakespeare's intellectual activity, it was doubtless in the full vigour of youth in 1598, when we first hear of it in *Histriomastix.* Every seasoned playgoer knows how the particular vogue of a new kind of dramatic entertainment evokes a widespread imitation. There is no room to doubt that this was the experience in the Bankside and Shoreditch theatres in the last lustrum of the sixteenth century. Several notable plays of a type responding to our formula for the nocturnal, some of a long-sustained popularity, were brought out within that span.

It is impossible now to say what was the prototype of the new *genre,* but one has sound reasons for believing that the nocturnal had special appeal for the rough and ready frequenters of the Rose. Identified with the Rose as manager was the usurious Henslowe, and from Henslowe's Diary we gather that William Haughton's urban comedy, *Englishmen for my Money, or A Women will have her Will,* was originally brought out under its sub-title at the Rose in or about February, 1598. As published eighteen years later, this play unfortunately has no act-divisions; but it is significant that in the divided reprint recently issued by Dr. Albert Croll Baugh at Philadelphia the night scenes occupy the whole of the third and fourth acts. Although one may in some measure endorse Swinburne's estimate of Haughton's work and say (with mental reservations) it is "a spirited, vigorous and remarkably regular comedy of intrigue, full of rough and ready incident, bright, boisterous humour, honest, lively provinciality and gay, high-handed Philistinism"; still there is a blue and a better blue, and in another comedy produced about three months later at the Rose we have not only a far superior play but a more striking and typical example of the nocturnal. I refer to Porter's delightful reproduction of old English rural idiosyncrasy, *The Two Angry Women of Abington.* In its original printed form this play also has no act-divisions; but it is interesting to note that in

Mr. Havelock Ellis's recension the nocturnal characteristics began to develop with the opening of the third act and hold the stage to the end, thus occupying a good five-eighths of the play.

It is difficult to determine whether *The Two Angry Women of Abington* preceded and, by its great popularity, evoked another nocturnal of equal charm, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, or whether the latter was the earlier production. We have no clear trace of *The Merry Devil* before its performance at the Globe in 1600; but Fleay, basing on Coxeter, ascribes it to Michael Drayton and thinks it was brought out by Shakespeare's company at the Curtain in 1597. There is some reason to believe that the play has come down to us in abbreviated form; but, as it stands, the whole of the fourth act is taken up with the nocturnal action. So unbounded was its popularity that it was still on the acting-list in 1616, and spoken of then as the Globe audience's "dear delight."

Of that shadowy personage called William Shakespeare we know very little, but it is at any rate certain that in his capacity as dramatist he was an alert time-server, giving the public what they wanted and exactly when they wanted it. Thus when the mob began to grow curious as to the mystic allurements which were drawing the gallants of the town to the private theatre, Shakespeare took up the magic scheme of Lyly, with its passionless prettiness and wire-drawn conceits, sublimated it, warmed it with the blood of life, and flung at the eager crowd his *Love's Labour Lost.* In patent-medicine phraseology, one bottle cured. Then the nobles ungratefully turned their backs on Lyly and his bandbox of a theatre and trooped off to revel in the open with Kyd in Blood, Thunder and R—r—revenge. Desiring to win the suffrages of this new, small and select public and to bind them permanently to his theatre, Shakespeare took up Kyd's fragments of gaudily coloured glass, threw them into the kaleidoscope of his mind—and the result

was *Hamlet.* And so on to the close of the chapter. Even at the close he paid Beaumont and Fletcher, in his own delicate way, the sincerest form of flattery.

Seeing how susceptible he was to the prevailing mood of the playhouse, it is not to be wondered at that precisely at the time the nocturnal had brought new delight and the " sudden glory " of rich laughter into the theatre, Shakespeare rapidly resolved to mould a compelling play in the new medium. At once his mind began to raise the germinal idea of the nocturnal to a loftier plane than that on which it had been successfully evolving. For an inspired moment, and that only, he took the new *genre* out of its confining groove of contemporary realism and placed it in the ampler ether of a classico-romantic environment. One reveals the great secret when one lays stress on Dowden's pithy characterisation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as " a comedy of errors—the errors of a night." Here we have, epigrammatically expressed, the quintessence of the Elizabethan nocturnal.

There has been a wide difference of opinion among Shakespearean investigators as to the date of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ; but from the fact, shortly to be demonstrated, that certain bizarre incidents in the play are obscurely parodied in *Histriomastix,* the period of production cannot have been much earlier than 1597. That the *Dream* was designed primarily as a nocturnal, notwithstanding the disharmonic elements out of which it is compounded and the complexity of its opening movement, becomes assured once the patient inquirer makes a time-and-locality analysis of the play. By so doing one arrives at the conclusion that the whole of the second and third acts and a portion of the opening scene of the fourth are laid in the enchanted wood at night. Submit this large section of the play to the " acid test " afforded by our formula for the nocturnal, and the reaction is convincing. It is not too much to say that amid the motley elements surging through the poet's brain when

the scheme of his play was in process of incubation, the nocturnal *motif* must have been insistent and uppermost. The wood scenes are all dark scenes, and the action in the wood brings into close association the unrelated threefold action of the opening. To prevent his night-scenes from falling into the common rut and properly motivate the criss-cross action in the wood the poet was compelled, not to tap the resources of that invisible world of which Spenser had the freedom, but to create that ever-beckoning, freakish, non-moral world of stage fairydom. Such is the measure of our indebtedness to the nocturnal.

Although there has been of late much idle conjecturing to the contrary, the public theatre had no means of procuring darkness. Night scenes had to be conveyed to the audience by textual iteration or, where the action permitted, by the bringing in of torches. Owing, however, to the incongruity of playing whole acts of supposedly unrelieved gloom in full daylight, it was usual to throw back the dark scenes of a nocturnal to the third or fourth act, by which time (the performance having commenced at three) the sun had usually sunk low in the west. While Shakespeare was excogitating the *Dream*, this convention threatened to impale him on the horns of a dilemma; for the necessities of the plot demanded that the nocturnal scenes should commence in the second act. From this menace he contrived to escape by delaying the blunders of the lovers until the succeeding act, when he obviated the necessity for any serious make-believe by resorting to a rarely-employed stage device. Remark that the darkness at this juncture is not the normal obscurity of the night, but an accentuation due to the raising of a fog by supernatural means. Armed as I am with new-found proofs, I have no hesitation in saying that in Act III., Sc. 2, shortly after Oberon had given his command to Puck:—

> Hie therefore, Robin, overcast the night;
> The starry welkin cover thou anon
> With drooping fog as black as Acheron,

the stage became temporarily obscured through the emission of perfumed fumes from a trap. In court masque and theatre play alike this was the approved method of conjuring up fog or mist. No stage direction in any of the old copies of the *Dream* exists to substantiate this; but the fact can be demonstrated from another source.

Students of the First Folio will recall how, in the third act of the play, the Athenian lovers, wearied out by their fairy-driven game of cross purposes, lie down in the woods to rest, and, in a way possible only on the Elizabethan stage, remain sleeping in full sight of the audience throughout the brief act-interval, ultimately to waken early in the fourth act, when disturbed by the sound of the hunting horns. Now it is a remarkable fact that at precisely the same juncture in *Histriomastix* (*i.e.*, between the third and fourth acts) we find a sustained travesty of this unique situation. While Mavortius and his train occupy the stage, Pride comes in with her three attendants, and "casts a mist" under cover of which the Mavortius group disappear. Presently Mavortius and his satellites return "and fall asleepe on the stage." Envy enters amidst strains of music, and, blowing her breath upon them, "they all awake and begin the following Acte." Here we have burlesqued in due sequence the raising of the fog, the falling asleep, the sleeping in full sight right through the act-interval, and the awakening to the sound of music.

This unmistakable analogy goes to confirm Richard Simpson's surmise that *Histriomastix* was, in some slight degree, a travesty of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Years ago Simpson, in the introduction to *The School of Shakespeare*, made a pertinent deduction from the fact that in the *Dream* the speeches delivered at the rehearsal are not afterwards to be found in the play as performed before the Duke. He saw in this lack of correspondence a living and readily availed-of precedent for the similar disparity in the play within the play in *Histriomastix*—a disparity, by the way, taken by blundering commentators as sound

evidence of revision ; and he asked, " Was the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the provocative of the *Histriomastix* ? "

As for the date of the *Dream*, opinions vary ; but the majority of Shakespearean investigators place it at 1595, and assume the play to have been written in celebration of a noble marriage. Conjecture, when unassailed, has a habit of solidifying into perilous resemblance of hard fact ; and it is well for us to bear in mind that no material evidence exists warranting either supposition. The earliest mention of the *Dream* occurs in a list of Shakespeare's commended plays given in Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on September 7, 1598. Halliwell-Phillips, in citing the passage from Meres in the later editions of his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* points out that the section containing it must have been written or at any rate brought up to date in the summer of 1598, seeing that it includes a notice of Marston's *Satires*, which was registered at Stationers' Hall on the previous 27th of May. Are we not, therefore, entitled to conclude that a play of Shakespeare's produced late in 1597, or even so recently as the following spring, would have had equal chance of honourable mention in the list ?

The question naturally arises, did the success of the *Dream*, acting in association with the continued vogue of the new *genre*, stimulate Shakespeare to write a second nocturnal ? One must answer emphatically, yes. In his recent work on *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, Professor Creizenach gives it as his opinion that certain parallelisms of plot-structure and characterization, allied with a general similarity of *milieu*, indicate that Shakespeare was influenced in the composition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by the popularity of *Englishmen for my Money* and *The Two Angry Women of Abington*. The rapid chronological sequence of the three plays gives plausibility to an argument which its propounder expertly strives to clinch by laying stress on the fact that all three end in the dark, in a scene of high confusion " in which

the general entanglement reaches its climax and is at the same time brought to a happy conclusion."

But surely these superficial resemblances are not so much due to direct imitation as to the palpable circumstance that Haughton, Porter and Shakespeare had all, as it were, in this specific instance a common denominator, since each was basing on the broad formula of the nocturnal. If Shakespeare in writing *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was really inspired by any previous play, it is more likely to have been *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (assuming it to be the earlier of the two), which he had more opportunity of becoming familiar with, seeing that it was produced by his own company. The points of similarity between the Hosts in the two plays, both of which were doubtless represented by the same actor, have been so often commented upon as to become a common-place.

In placing *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the category of the nocturnal one has to some extent to ignore the evidence of the standard version of the play as presented by the Folio. In that version the whole of the last act, the act in which the nocturnal element is comprised, is not given over entirely to its demonstration. The opening scene in the Garter Inn, while leading up to, is separated from that element. But it is worthy of note that in the original version of the play, as published in Quarto without act-divisions in 1602, this scene is missing. As a matter of fact the first four scenes of Act V. in the Folio version are absent from the Quarto; and it would appear as if originally a short last act began with Scene V. On this point, however, it would be unsafe to dogmatize, seeing that the Folio affords no clue to the original division of the play. The utmost that one can bring oneself to urge is that Fleay was possibly right in maintaining that the Quarto, so far from being an imperfect copy, is a fairly faithful representation of the play as first produced. Technically speaking, its dominant characteristics argue a certain measure of haste, more particularly its being

written almost wholly in prose. These signs of haste are in keeping with the tradition that the play was written in a fortnight at the command of Elizabeth; and the tradition itself receives some bolstering from the statement in the Quarto that the play had been given at court.

No one has hitherto dwelt on the fact that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* affords ready illustration of the truth of Professor Barrett Wendell's theory relative to Shakespeare's "constant economy of needless invention." The scene around Herne's Oak reads as if the poet had gone to the very limits of his amazing objectivity, and, by way of showing his contempt for the assaults made upon him in *Histriomastix*, had deliberately travestied the wood-scenes in his first nocturnal. Falstaff's horns recall Bully Bottom's headpiece, and in the maturer version of the play there is a decided echo of the pragmatical weaver in Fat Jack's abject reply to Mrs. Ford, on being told by her punningly that she can never again take him for her love, but will always count him her *dear*; "I do begin to perceive that I am made an ass."

Assuredly the humour of an author poking quiet fun at himself would not have been lost on an audience familiar with the foibles of playwrights who had drunk deeper at the Fountain of Self Love than at the Pierian Spring, and who were consequently degrading their art by indulging the baser-minded in the unseemly spectacle of dog eating dog. It was doubtless an indication of Shakespeare's supremacy: one can think of no other Elizabethan dramatist to whom the attitude would have been possible. Be that as it may, in the last analysis it seems fully in keeping with the curious self-detachment of that highly complex personality, which, transcendent as it was in its creative power, yet shared a fundamental instinct peculiar to the lower animals in that, once its true offspring (the offspring of its brain) had reached maturity, it gave no further thought to its preservation.

W. J. Lawrence.

THE FRIARS PILGRIMS FOR CHRIST.

BY AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

Fontana : *Constitutiones Ord. Praed.*, 1655.
Masetti : *Monumenta et Antiquitates Veteris Disciplinae Ord. Praed.*, 1664.
Mortier : *Hist. des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs.*

IN the early part of the fourteenth century a very remarkable Congregation or Society was formed in the Dominican Order, called the " Congregation or Society of Friars Pilgrims for Christ "—*Congregatio Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum.* The reason for its formation was to place under one direction and to work from one centre the widely scattered missions of the Order in Europe and Asia. Though it held together for a century and a half and helped to lay the solid foundations of Christianity in many lands, we know very little of its history ; for its only records are contained in a few papal Briefs and Bulls and in the Ordinations of some General Chapters of the Order. So to get an idea of the importance of the work it accomplished we have to learn something of the vast extent of the Dominican mission field which came under its jurisdiction and of the heritage the Society left to its successors after its dissolution.

No claim need be made that it carried the Cross into lands not hitherto evangelised. The Society was formed out of missionaries already at work, many of them for a lifetime, who had seen the necessity of bringing under one

government their various missions. For the greater part of the thirteenth century these missions had been under the separate jurisdictions of the Provinces of Poland, Hungary, Greece and the Holy Land. The Society did not take over all the missions of the Order; those of Scandinavia never came under it, and the Province of the Holy Land still continued the care of those of Egypt and Abyssinia. Its jurisdiction stretched from the Gulf of Riga to the Black Sea (embracing Lithuania, the Ukraine and Wallachia (Rumania)), and thence on into Asia. The work before it was to continue to evangelise the still pagan Lithuanians, to bring back to the unity of the Church the Greek schismatics of the Balkans and the Armenian, Georgian and Nestorian schismatics of Asia, and to compete with the increasing Mohammedan propaganda among the pagan Tatars.[1] Truly these were difficult tasks, requiring a large body of able and apostolic men, full of zeal, inured to hardship and ready to face death.

Even before the formation of this regular Congregation or Society of the Order, it had been found necessary to place these missions under a special Vicar holding his powers directly under the Master General. To set it on its feet the Order handed over to it ten convents belonging to the Provinces of Poland, Hungary and Greece and situated on their eastern borders. These were to serve as houses of rest and retreat for the missionaries and as refuges for them in their old age. They were also useful as collecting centres for the wants of the missions, which must have been enormous. The Order also appropriated two convents to serve as schools of languages, one at Kaffa, in the Crimea, and the other at Pera, near Constantinople.

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[1] Bulls of John XXII. and Gregory XI. are addressed "Dilectis FF. Praedicatoribus in terris Saracenorum, Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, Iberorum, Alanorum, Gazarorum, Gothorum, Ruthenorum, Jacobitarum, Nubianorum, Nestorianorum, Georgianorum, Armenorum, Judorum, Macolitarum, aliarumque nationum non credentium Orientis et Aquilonis."

The head house of the Society was at Lemberg in Poland, and it was there the members used to meet from time to time for their councils and chapters.

The missionaries had the peculiar privilege, a privilege enjoyed by their predecessors (for it is traced back to Innocent IV., who first gave the red hat to the cardinals), of wearing red hats, red girdles, red boots and red leggings, a remnant of which is still seen in Poland, where the fathers continue to wear the red belts. The wearing of the red is supposed by pious writers to be symbolical of the willingness of the wearers to shed their blood for Christ; but a more natural explanation seems to be that it was worn to make a greater impression on their uncultured neophytes than the simple white and black habit would have done—the same reason, in fact, which made St. Francis Xavier wear silks when preaching to the Japanese and made the Franciscans of Bosnia, when they were under the rule of the Turks, cultivate the moustache and wear the red fez. The seal of the Society was an engraving of Our Blessed Saviour with the Precious Blood flowing from His Wounds. The special picture they used on their banners and altar-pieces was that of Our Saviour standing holding His Cross and showing His Wounds, with the Blessed Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, St. John the Evangelist and St. Dominic standing by His side.

From the fact that ten convents were considered necessary as retreats for their old men and training places for their novices, as well as the two convents of Kaffa and Pera, we may reasonably infer that their numbers must have been very great. The Dominican Order was in a position to keep up the supply of missioners, because it never had such numbers as it had in the first part of the fourteenth century before the Black Death came to decimate its ranks. The same fecundity was shown by the Franciscans. John XXII., under whose pontificate the Society was formed, issued a Bull exhorting the Order to send at least fifty volunteers to it at once. We

are not aware how the exhortation was responded to at the time, but twenty years later the Society was mentioned in conjunction with the Provinces of the Holy Land and Greece when six volunteers were asked for by the General Chapter from each Province.[1] This would have supplied more than a hundred. Four years later four other volunteers from each Province were asked for. So we see that great efforts were made to keep up the numbers. As might have been expected in that age of general relaxation amongst the religious Orders, owing principally to the Great Schism which divided each Order into two camps, some who volunteered for the missions were not of the right sort, and went out more to escape the discipline at home than out of zeal for souls. But the Order took these unworthy labourers sternly to task and ordered them to be sent back to their respective Provinces.[2]

Owing to the great absence of records, very few of the names of the superiors of the Society have come down to us. Just before its formation we find a Father Francis, of Perugia, holding in 1313 the office of Vicar of the Missions. This man, after a brilliant career as preacher and professor in his native city and other places, volunteered for the missions and was sent out as papal legate by Boniface VIII. He took up his abode at Kaffa, which had been long in the possession of a company of Genoese merchants, having been given to them by the Khan of Tartary as an emporium for their trade with Persia and India. For centuries Kaffa was a bit of Italy planted by the shores of the Black Sea, and was as invaluable as a centre of missionary enterprise as it was for trade. For it was a good starting-point for missionary journeys along the frequented trade routes, which converged on it by sea

[1] "Committit Mag. Ord. singulis Prioribus Provincialibus, quod de suis Provinciis possit quilibet eorum assignare sex fratres Provinciae Graeciae, et Terrae Sanctae, et Societati Peregrinantium propter Christum, voluntarios tamen et illaesos in vita pariter et in moribus."

[2] "Provincialibus Graeciae, Terrae Sanctae et Vicario Peregrinantium ut fratres discolos et insolentes remittant ad suas Provincias"—(Cap. Valencennense, 1337).

and land. On getting a site through the generosity of the merchants, Father Francis built a beautiful church. He learnt the Tatar language, and was said to have been as effective preacher in it as he had been in his own tongue. John XXII., having made him Archbishop of Sultanieh, added six suffragan dioceses to his see, and appointed to these dioceses six Dominicans simultaneously.[1] This ecclesiastical Province comprised all Persia, India and Western Turkestan.

The exact date of the foundation of the Society is not known, as the record is missing, but it may be placed between 1312 and 1318. The first Vicar-General was Father Andrew della Terza.[2] He died in 1343 at Trebizond in a hospice which he had founded there for his brethren. He was succeeded in 1327 by a Father Bartholemew Piccolo, of Bologna, and four years later a Father Laurence of Hungary held the office. Under Gregory XI. a Father Elias Petit, a Frenchman, was Vicar, and from the Register of Blessed Raymund of Capua we find that he was still holding the office in 1389. No other names can be traced in the necrologies.

And here we must pay tribute to the missionary zeal of the Italians in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is well known that during that period all the trade to the East was carried on by the enterprise of the merchants of Genoa, Pisa, Florence and Venice; but it is not known that it was Italian religious who preponderated in the missions. The Italian merchant prepared the way for the missionary of his own country and gave him generous help, just as in later times the Spanish and Portuguese merchants and military commanders gave great help to

[1] "Johannes Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Fratri Franco Perusino O.P., electo Sultaniensi etc.

"Pridem gratis relatibus intellecto, quod in partibus Persidis, et terris aliis circumpositis, sub magni Imperatoris Tartarorum Persidis imperio constitutis, venusta fidelium et novella plantatio . . . sex de fratribus dicti Ordinis, videlicet . . . assumsimus et praefecimus in episcopos et pastores" . . . (Bull, 1318).

[2] "Iste fuit primus Vicarius Generalis Societatis Peregrinantium et post modum inquisitor inter Saracenos et infideles."

their countrymen in the evangelisation of America and the Far East. The work of the Italians is buried in oblivion, as their missions in the East were almost completely blotted out four centuries ago by the advance of the Turk, whereas the work of Spaniards and Portuguese, and still later of the French, is before our eyes up to the present. Owing to the invention of printing, the wonderful missionary conquests of modern times have been put on permanent record. But there was no Congregation of Propaganda in those distant days to preserve reports of the work accomplished, nor any "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith" to bring the missions to the knowledge of all classes. And so, while Spaniards and Portuguese and French receive due meed of praise for their zeal, the work of the Italian missionary has been forgotten.

The Society was able to hold together in spite of ever increasing difficulties till after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. But by that time its work in Asia, with the exception of Armenia, had been almost all destroyed. The same tale of desolation has to be told of the Crimea, Crim Tartary, the Southern Balkans and Greece. The zealous labours of two centuries of Dominicans and Franciscans had been rendered fruitless by the steady advance of the Ottoman Empire. Existence had been possible with former Moslem Powers; not so with the Turk. At the beginning of the fourteenth century also came the atrocious massacres of Timour-Ling, a fanatical Moslem, perpetrated in his lightning raids and conquests in Asia and South Eastern Europe. Unlike his Mongol predecessors, who had protected the Christians against Moslem aggression, he persecuted them. Hundreds of thousands of Christians—Nestorians, Jacobites and Catholics—were put to death, and their churches and monasteries destroyed. Christian communities with a history of centuries behind them were completely wiped out. The power and influence of the Western nations

in the East, dating back to the period of the Crusades, were now things of the past. When Constantinople had fallen and the Eastern Empire was no more, Mohammedanism was supreme in all the East and over a large part of Southern and Central Europe.

So it seemed to many in the Order that there was no longer a reason for the existence of the Society as a special Congregation or Society, and in 1458 the General Chapter of Montpelier decreed its dissolution. Martial Auribelli, then the Master General, carried out the decree shortly after and assigned the missionaries to various Provinces. But Pius II., who in his extensive travels before his pontificate had seen with an approving eye the great work done by the Society in Eastern Europe, was very angry with the Master General for having made such an important change without having first consulted the Holy See and deposed him from office on that account. He repealed the decree, restored the Society, appointed a Vicar General himself and ordered all the convents in Lithuania, Russia, Podolia and Wallachia to be handed back to the missionaries.[1] In spite, however, of the direct intervention of the Holy See, the Society never recovered its former life and energy. All along it had kept up its numbers by volunteers coming to it from various Provinces. These now began to fail; for the discovery of vast new missionary fields in America and the Far East, virgin fields untouched by the blight of Mohammedanism, turned the eyes and hearts of zealous men away from the ruined missions of the Society. So it diminished in numbers, till towards the early part of the sixteenth century it was almost extinct. The Order continued to appoint the Vicars; but these became in course of time mere titular ones residing in Italy.

[1] "Ex ipsa nostra scientia, ipsam Societatem quae per nonnulla Capitula dicitur esse divisa, redintegramus et reponimus ac in idem corpus ut prius erat reponi volumus et mandamus, praesertim omnes conventus Lithuaniae, Russiae, Podoliae, Valachiae . . . declarantes et mandantes tales conventus et nationes a modo esse sub Vicario dictae Societatis Peregrinantium."

It must not be supposed that, because the Society became extinct, their work was abandoned. It simply passed under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Order. In Europe it was changed from the state of foreign to that of home missions. In the sixteenth century, when the Kingdom of Poland had extended its territories to such an enormous extent as to take in Lithuania as well as the Ukraine, the Dominican Province of Poland would appear to have absorbed nearly all the former missions of the Society in Europe. Nationality plays an important part in Religious Orders as well as in civil life, and later on both the Lithuanian fathers and the Ruthenian fathers of the Ukraine petitioned to be separated from Poland and formed into Provinces of their own. The Province of Greece took over houses and missions further south. A Vicar was appointed by the General over the remnants of the missions in Asia, except those taken over by the Province of the Holy Land. However, the missions in Armenia were still so important that later on Armenia was made into a distinct Province of the Order and flourished well into the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is impossible to understand the position and work of the Friars Pilgrims for Christ without taking a short review of the labours of their predecessors in the thirteenth century. When the Society was formed the Dominican missions in the East and in Europe were in a flourishing condition and well organised. The vast field had already been under cultivation for three-quarters of a century. And although here we are concerned only with the Dominicans, it must not be forgotten that the Franciscans showed such zeal on their part that it would be difficult to say which of the two Orders obtained the pre-eminence. In 1221, before the death of St. Dominic, the Province of Hungary was founded, the special work of which was the evangelisation of the pagan Cumans who had invaded and occupied a large part of that country. Friar Theodore was appointed the first bishop of the Cumans a few years later.

In 1228 the Provinces of Denmark, Poland, Greece and the Holy Land were established to serve as outposts for missions in pagan lands. Denmark took in the Scandinavian countries; Poland devoted itself to the pagan Lithuanians and the schismatic Ruthenians; Greece, with its centre fixed at Pera (Constantinople), besides working for the conversion of the Greek schismatics, stretched out its arms to the Bulgarians and Wallachians on the one side and to the Crim Tatars and the Golden Horde on the other. The Dominicans evangelised the Balkans, and in 1233 Friar John of Wildeshansen was appointed bishop of Diacovar, in Bosnia. The Province of the Holy Land founded missions in Armenia and other parts of Asia, and also evangelised Egypt and Abyssinia. For supplies of devoted men Catholic Poland had no need of looking beyond its own borders, but of course Greece and the Holy Land had to rely on volunteers from all the other Provinces of the Order.

It was an age of faith; men thirsted for martyrdom, and zealous apostles were never lacking for the missions. But zeal alone will not account for the rapid missionary conquests effected. In modern times, in spite of equal missionary zeal, progress has been very slow. One reason for the difference may be sought in the political situation which on the whole was very favourable to the missions. The Eastern Empire had fallen under the domination of the Franks. There was a Latin Emperor in Constantinople. Then again, there was the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which was still holding on to parts of Syria and Palestine. Even where Latins did not hold sway, as in the so-called Empire of Trebizond and the Kingdom of Nicea, which were ruled by Greek schismatics, there was no insuperable obstacle to Catholic propaganda. Let us add to all these advantages the widespread trading activities and influence of the merchants of Genoa, Pisa, Florence and Venice, who almost monopolised the trade of the Levant and the Black Sea and even navigated the Caspian, and who

naturally would afford every help to the missionaries, especially to those of their own country.

The dispositions, too, of pagans and schismatics were not unfavourable to the preachers. We find Gedymin, the pagan ruler of Lithuania, writing to the Pope that he sanctioned the preaching of the Gospel throughout his dominions by the Dominicans and Franciscans. We find the schismatic king of Armenia sending a petition for the establishment of a Dominican house in his kingdom.[1] It was still possible to draw the Greeks into union with the Holy See. They had not yet hardened their hearts by repeated rejections of overtures to that effect. As to the Moslem, even he was not impenetrable at that period to the light of faith, and we have undoubted evidence that numbers of the followers of the Prophet in Spain and North Africa embraced the religion of Christ at the preaching of the Friars. Arabic culture was still widely spread among the Saracens, and it made argument, persuasion and conversion possible. The time had not yet come when the rise to power of the Ottoman Turks would banish all culture from the Mohammedan world and reduce all classes to a common level of brutal ignorance and fanaticism.

The great success of the Friars in Persia and other parts of Asia need not cause surprise, considering how widely Christianity had been already spread over that continent by the Nestorians.[2] These schismatics in the thirteenth century were a powerful and well-organised body. They had their metropolitans in various cities, and the jurisdiction of their *Catholicos* at Bagdad extended even to islands off Africa. To the east of Lake Baikal there was a country ruled by Christian princes, the descendants of Prester John, the greater number of whose subjects were Christians too. So the Tatars were already familiar with the religion of Christ. The Mongol Khans as

[1] "Concedimus Provinciae Hispaniae unam domum in Regno Portugalliae. Item Terrae Sanctae unam, ad petitionem Regis Armeniae, in Armenia." Chapter of Treves, 1266.

[2] See Marco Polo's Travels (*passim*).

a rule were tolerant and, in fact, favourable to the new preachers from the West, an attitude which had been brought about by the embassies sent to them by Popes and Louis IX.[1] To the Moslems, on the other hand, they showed hostility. For a long period, indeed, they were hesitating between the religion of Christ and that of Mohammed. Coming suddenly into contact with the religion and civilisation of the West through the conquests of Genghis Khan, they had begun to feel the need of a higher religion than their primitive shamanistic rites. During the long period of their hesitation between the two religions there was room and welcome for the Christian teacher. The creed of the Prophet at last prevailed with them, however, as being more consonant with their own warlike and aggressive spirit, and then all hope of their conversion was over.

It is probable that the great bulk of the converts made by the Friars were among the schismatics, and not among the pagans. Some very notable conversions were made among the ecclesiastical chiefs of the former, and they brought their flocks over with them to the true fold.[2]

Language presented no great difficulty to the missionaries. In the thirteenth century Arabic was the most universally spoken language on the earth. It held sway

[1] Joinville relates that when Louis IX. was passing through Cyprus on his way to Egypt, he received a visit from a Christian prince of the Tatars. In return he sent a Father Andrew, a Dominican well versed in Eastern tongues, on an embassy to the prince's court and also to that of the Great Khan, who (he had learnt) "had already received the sacred things of the Christians." Father Andrew was accompanied by two other Dominicans, two Franciscans, two clerics and two members of the Court.

[2] Friar Philip, Provincial of the Province of the Holy Land, writes to the Pope in 1237 that a Jacobite Patriarch, whose jurisdiction extended over seventy provinces in Persia, Chaldea, Media and Armenia, came over, bringing his flocks with him, and took the habit of the Order. He also relates the conversion of two other patriarchs, one a Jacobite of Egypt and the other a Nestorian of the East, both of whom had jurisdiction over flocks in Syria. Another Nestorian patriarch had promised to accept the Catholic faith. Philip added that he had sent four Friars to the head of the Jacobites in Egypt, whose jurisdiction extended to India, Ethiopia and Lybia. The Maronites of Libanus had also come into the unity of the Catholic Church. (Echard, vol. i., p. 104).

from Cordova to Bagdad, embracing a large portion of Spain, all North Africa, and large parts of Asia. The missionaries all learnt that language. St. Raymund of Penafort promoted the study of Arabic, Hebrew and Chaldaic (Syro-Chaldaic) in the convents in Spain, the two first for the conversion of the Jews and the Moors. The Order established a *Studium Arabicum* at Tunis, and later on, others at Barcelona, Murcia and Valentia. The Province of the Holy Land added the study of the Oriental languages to the conventual course. Finally the General Chapter of 1310 established in several Provinces schools for the study of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, to which each Province was to send at least one student. The diffusion of these studies would tend to keep alive the missionary spirit.

A real difficulty that presents itself for solution is how they were able to perform such long journeys in foreign lands. In Catholic countries they used to beg their way from place to place, and according to the rule of the Order had to go on foot. The duty of hospitality has always been very strictly observed in the East, and probably as religious teachers they would have been treated as honoured guests by Arabs and Tatars. There is no record of collections having been made for the missions in those days ; but it stands to reason that means must have been found in Catholic countries to carry them on. With regard to riding, dispensations could have been got from the Holy See for the missionaries just as they were got for friars who accompanied the crusaders. The long journeys to India and China of several months' duration would probably be arranged at Kaffa, in the Crimea, through the Italian merchants. The trading caravans bringing the silks and spices of the East used to get as far west as that emporium, and it would not be difficult to arrange with them to take the missionaries to the most distant parts of Asia. This will explain how it was possible for the Franciscans to make China their peculiar field of

labour under Kublai Khan and his Mongol successors, and gain hundreds of thousands of converts till the accession of the Ming dynasty in the middle of the fourteenth century completely destroyed their glorious work.

To return to the Friars Pilgrims, they certainly left their mark in many countries during the fourteenth century. The Lithuanians, for instance, were pagans when the Society was formed, and it was mainly owing to the zeal of its members that they became Catholics in a generation or so. Their success in Wallachia (Rumania) is shown by the foundation in 1381 of the See of Arges and the appointment of a Dominican to it. The Ruthenians of the Ukraine would probably have remained wholly schismatic only for the strenuous efforts made by the Friars Pilgrims to bring them back to the unity of the Church. The first Latin bishops of the City of Kieff, the religious and civil centre of the Ruthenians, were drawn from the Society, and the fine monastery and church built in that city by the Friars Pilgrims exercised no small influence in turning the people towards the Holy See. But the most striking success of all took place in Armenia. It was under the second Vicar General, Father Bartholemew Piccolo, that the remarkable conversion of the monks of St. Basil took place. They not only gave up their schism and submitted in a large body to the Church, but they also began to follow the rules and constitutions of the Dominican Order, calling themselves "the United Brethren." This wonderful conversion led, of course, to a great increase of missionary work. In the end the Catholics of Armenia would have no spiritual ministrations except from the Dominicans, and a flourishing Province was formed there, which lasted well into the eighteenth century. But here we must stop. So many interesting details have been preserved of Dominican work among the Armenians that they would form matter for a special article.

A. Coleman.

CHRONICLE.

I.—Irish Fiction for Boys.

V.—Historical Tales.[1]

THIS section is in some respects the most important of our list. The reason is not far to seek. That the interest and the discriminating affection of our boys may be won for the Ireland of the present it is necessary that they should have knowledge of her past. And it is surely most desirable that this knowledge should be not merely a matter of intellectual information, such as text-books supply, but that imagination and feeling, too, should be captured for Ireland. To this end historical novels are undoubtedly a help.[2] We may adopt for ourselves, with the alteration of but a single word, the following remark of a writer from whose views of Irish history we differ in the strongest way :—

> My own view is that English History should be an inheritance of childhood ; that its legends and its romances should grow into our thoughts from very early years, and should expand themselves with the expansion of our minds ; that we should feel History and dream of it rather than learn it as a lesson.[3]

In this line much has yet to be done for Irish history ; many gaps have yet to be filled. We have many good writers in Ireland at present ; but their bent does not seem to be in this direction, and indeed it is doubtful if there be a public to reward their efforts. How different the case is as regards English history may be judged by a glance through Mr. Jonathan Nield's *Guide to Historical Novels and Tales.*

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[1] See December (1918) issue for Parts I.-IV.

[2] The present writer went into the matter more fully in two articles on Irish historical novels contributed to Studies (Sept., 1915, March, 1916).

[3] C. R. L. Fletcher : *Introductory History of England.* (Preface).

The division of the following list into two sections is merely for convenience of reference.

SECTION A.—To the Williamite Wars.	PERIOD.
1. Columbanus the Celt. By Father Walter T. Leahy. (1913).	560-615.
2. The Knight of the Cave. By Lorcan O'Byrne. (1906).	1130-1151.
3. The Falcon King. By Lorcan O'Byrne. (1907).	1169.
4. When the Norman Came. By M. O'Hanrahan. (1918).	1169 *sq.*
5. With Strongbow at Wexford. By John G. Rowe. (1917).	1170.
6. Under One Sceptre. By Emily S. Holt. (1884).	1374-98.
7. Ralph Wynward. By H. Elrington. (1902).	1565.
8. A Queen of Men. By William O'Brien. (1898).	1585-1590.
9. The Sorrow of Lycadoon. By Mrs. Concannon. (1912).	1584.
10. Sir Ludar. By Talbot Baines Reid. (1889).	1585-90.
11. The Flight of the Eagle. By Standish O'Grady. (1897).	1587.
12. Ulrick the Ready. By Standish O'Grady. (1896).	1601-2.
13. Earl or Chieftain. By Patricia Dillon. (1910).	1601-2.
14. The Red Hand of Ulster. By Mrs. Sadlier. (? date).	1601-2.
15. The Charming of Estercel. By Grace Rhys. (1913).	1601-2.
16. Frank Maxwell. By J. H. Lepper. (1910).	1640.
17. The Wild Rose of Lough Gill. By P. G. Smyth. (1883).	1641-1652.
18. The Chances of War. By Rev. T. A. Finlay. (1877).	1642-1652.
19. The Flight from the Cliffs. By James Murphy. (1911).	1641 *sq.*
20. Friends though Divided. By G. A. Henty. (1883).	1645.
21. Silk and Steel. By H. A. Hinkson. (1902).	1645.
22. When Cromwell came to Drogheda. By Randal McDonnell. (1906).	1649.
23. In the King's Service. By F. S. Brereton. (1901).	1649.
24. The Silk of the Kine. By L. MacManus. (1896).	1649.
25. Nessa. By L. MacManus. (1904).	1654.
26. The Memoirs of Gerald O'Connor. By W. O'Connor Morris. (1903).	1671-1748.

1. Published in Philadelphia. A good attempt to give in story form the romance of the great Irish missionary, St. Columbanus.

2 and 3. All Lorcan O'Byrne's books were written expressly for boys, and his aim was to get into them as much history and general information as the story will bear. These two books are illustrated by Paul Hardy. In the former the hero journeys through England, France, and Italy to Rome, and thence back to Ireland. The Falcon King is Henry II.

4 and 5. Two more stories of the Norman Invasion written from the national point of view, especially the former, which gives us a vivid glimpse of pre-Norman Gaelic Ireland.

6. The career of Mortimer, Earl of March, slain in battle with Art MacMurrough. By the author of a long series of historical stories.

7. Adventure in the wild days of the Desmond wars. Illustrated.

8. A wonderful romance, full of vivid colour and life, of the days of Grace O'Malley.

9. A tender little story woven round the martyrdom of Dermot O'Hurley.

10. An exciting adventure story for boys—it appeared in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Tells of the taking of Dunluce from the English, and of the Armada.

11 and 12. Give a fine picture of Elizabethan Ireland from the Author's peculiar standpoint and in his magnificent style.

13. The early days of Hugh O'Neill. Published by the C.T.S.I.

14 and 15. The War of the Earls. In the latter boys will like the hero's wonderful horse, Tamburlane. Sympathetic to Ireland.

16. A slight story of the parliamentary wars by a writer who afterwards did better things.

17. Was long one of the most popular of all Irish stories.

18 to 21. Are all fine boys' stories of the wars of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Full of incident and adventure. No. 20 is royalist, the other three are thoroughly national in tone.

23. Cromwell's wars in Ireland from a Cavalier point of view and by one of the most popular of modern writers for boys.

24. Another Cromwell story, written, like all this author's books, from a thoroughly Irish point of view.

25. The Cromwellian plantation.

26. The reminiscences, part fact, part fiction, of one who went through the Williamite Wars and the series of wars on the Continent that came after.

SECTION B.—From the Williamite Wars.

	PERIOD.
1. True to the Watchword. By Edgar Pickering. (1902).	1689.
2. In Sarsfield's Days. By L. MacManus. (1907).	1690.
3. My Sword for Patrick Sarsfield. By Randal McDonnell. (1907).	1689-1691.
4. The Knights of the White Rose. By Geo. Griffith. (1908).	1689-1691.
5. Orange and Green. By G. A. Henty. (1887).	1689-1691.
6. A Swordsman of the Brigade. By M. O'Hanrahan. (1914).	
7. Lally of the Brigade. By L. MacManus.	
8. Mountcashel's Brigade, or the Rescue of Cremona. By C. G. Halpine. (5th ed., 1882).	
9. In the Irish Brigade. By G. A. Henty. (1901).	1703-1710.

	PERIOD.
10. The King's Deputy. By H. A. Hinkson. (1899).	1785.
11. The Northern Iron. By G. A. Birmingham. (1907).	1798.
12. The Green Cockade. By M. T. Pender. (1898).	1798.
13. The Forge of Clohogue. By James Murphy. (1885).	1798.
14. Up for the Green. By H. A. Hinkson. (1898).	1798.
15. Michael Dwyer. By Dr. Campion. (n.d.).	1798.
16. The Patriot Brothers. By C. G. Halpine. (6th ed., 1884).	1798.
17. The Round Tower. By Florence Scott and Alma Hodge. (1906).	1798.
18. A Plain Man's Tale. By R. H. Wright. (1904).	1798.
19. The Shan Van Vocht. By James Murphy. (1883).	1798.
20. Kilgorman. By Talbot Baines Reed. (1906).	1793-1800.
21. True Man and Traitor. By M. McD. Bodkin. (1910).	1803.
22. Glenanaar. By Canon Sheehan. (1905).	1829.
23. The Next Time. By Louis J. Walsh. (1917).	1848.
24. Carroll O'Donoghue. By Christine Faber. (1903).	1866.
25. Tales of Ireland for Irish Children. By Marie Bayne.	
26. Legends of the Wars in Ireland. By Robert Dwyer Joyce. (1868).	

Irish stories about the Williamite Wars naturally vary considerably in point of view. Thus, of the above, Nos. 1, 4 and 5 incline to the Williamite side, while 2 and 3 are Jacobite and national. No. 2 is a fine dramatic story, telling of the siege of Limerick and Sarsfield's Ballyneety exploit. Of the Brigade stories, the first three are thoroughly national in tone, and the third cannot be said to be anti-Irish. Only this last is illustrated.

10. A story of Ireland in the days of Grattan's Parliament, bringing in all the great figures of the times.

Stories of '98 are innumerable. I have here mentioned only some of those most suited for boys. All of those I have mentioned are written from the Irish standpoint except No. 17. The first two (Nos. 11 and 12) deal with the insurrection in the North. No. 18 is a northern story too, but is not directly concerned with incidents of the rising. Nos. 13, 14 and 15 deal with the Wexford and Wicklow rising. No. 16 is the story of the Brothers Sheares.

Nos. 19 and 20 carry us further afield, bringing their heroes through the continental wars of the time, especially the French expeditions to Ireland.

21. The story of Robert Emmet from a sympathetic standpoint.

22. Brings in the Liberator in the famous Doneraile case, and gives us glimpses of '48 and of '67.

23. A spirited story of the Young Ireland movement.

24. The Fenian movement. By an American writer.

The last two do not confine themselves to any particular period.

(*To be continued.*) S. J. BROWN.

II.—Impressions of Austria during the War.

IN a suburb of Vienna the electric tram was running through the endless lines of small houses towards the big city. A child beside its mother knelt on the seat of the car and passed in review the foot-passengers on the pathway: it punctuated its remarks with a finger-tip on the glass of the window and looked at its mother occasionally for confirmation in the more difficult appreciations. The child had divided the human race into two classes, "sick" and "sound"—*krank* and *nicht-krank*. The untidy soldier in a discoloured light-blue uniform, limping wearily along with the aid of a crutch, was the typical "krank." Such was the picture which the war had been painting for some two years already on the little child's imagination. Its mind was war-fed, as we have all been. My impressions of five years spent in the lands that lay between the East and the West front are not unlike the child's vision of war-life—the sick spots colour the common hue with an unpleasant variety.

It seems so long since the nights when the military band, with its swinging lanterns and its retinue of street-wanderers, passed beneath my Innsbruck windows once or twice a week; they were celebrating victories, perhaps in anticipation, or at least they were celebrating—O League of Nations!—the declaration of war. Those were the days when the Austrian officer never parted with his sword—even when mounted on the tame bicycle—and when his honour was that of the mythical "tread on the tail of my coat" style. Since then I have been in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna when the Emperor Charles appeared with an inconspicuous bayonet swinging from his belt and promised solemnly to erect a church to Our Lady of Peace should peace be restored soon. The sword—the bayonet—peace!—it sounds like a summary of the great war, changing our ideals from the heroism of the wars of old through the brutal efficiency of the newer combat even

unto the surpassing peace of some great moral sanction—if that were only true. I started my detention in a Tirol indignant for the wrongs wrought on the old Hapsburg house, and still more exasperated by the policy that loomed up beyond the Brenner; I finished my course in Poland, where Galicia had formerly been, and where now indignation was welling up against the war-winners who claimed to have built up that very Poland.

The background of hunger was that against which war displayed all its glory and all its horror for the inhabitants of various parts of the former Austria, but especially for those of Vienna. Personally, I was in a rather favoured position or rather positions; fortune even helped me to escape from Vienna when famine stalked in towards the beginning of the winter in 1917. But even I could practically test the depreciation of bread from the "sawdust-maize" type of 1914-5 to the putty-like combinations of later years, could note the constantly diminishing volume of the daily portion until it became one very modest slice. In 1917-8 it stopped often completely. In July, 1918, I noted in Galicia that a kilo loaf of black bread (a little more than two pounds English) cost about 10 crowns—which would be in pre-war values 8s. 4d. Having fallen ill, I was under special diet in the spring of 1919, and was treated to the tiniest of white buns at the cost of one crown (10d.) each. Had I been in Vienna I should not probably even been *able* to spend a crown so usefully; but Galicia is an agricultural country and, enjoying even under Austrian dominion a certain amount of Home Rule, had kept a fair hold on its foodstuffs (if we except the pleasant conceits of the Prussian in smuggling out tanks of corn as "Paraffin Oil").

Hunger in Austria was (and probably is still) a real and very vital question. General Hunger—Generalissimo and Supreme Field-Marshal—won his war-game in 1917, and the Army Councils must have looked on in grim despair. The year began with a long winter which pre-

vented all field work until the end of April, and then the heavens closed their fountain springs and donned a glorious summer garb, to wear it untroubled almost till autumn; day after day no drop of rain, only brilliant sunshine; the trees burst after their long winter restraint into over-full foliage, but, ere the height of summer was reached, had many a patch of parched yellow; the meadows were bald and dusty, the crops dwarfed. Nature seemed to choose 1917 as its year of generalship. The nations had not to wait long to feel the effects. In the autumn the pinch of hunger was felt as never before, even cattle must be slaughtered off because there was no fodder to give them. And as I heard from reliable sources, the Austrian army saw its soldiers desert plentifully to the hated "Katzelmacher" (Italy) for the sake of the promised rations. From the end of 1917 it seemed to us in Austria clear that the sole hope of saving the Hapsburg throne rested with Ludendorf and *his* troops. The failure of the 1918 offensive only allowed things to take their natural course.

Who could describe the deficits of daily life in that last twelve months of formal war? That your shoe-laces were made of paper and snapped provokingly beyond all hope of splicing; that twine and thread were for ordinary mortals no better—these were the minor inconveniences. Your soap cost dear, and yet would not wash, for its basis was often old bones or anything but a fat. The clatter of the wooden shoe-soles or the iron ring of an armour-plating protecting valuable leather became the new notes in the street-harmony. The fragrant tobacco developed new aromas due to the intermixture of all the leaves that grow—everybody believed in some other species of leaf. But it was especially in foodstuffs that the mad demand created a mad supply. Boards of control were established to eliminate the hundreds, if not thousands, of harmful manufactured substitutes. And here it was especially in the matter of drink that the substitutes were

prolific. Coffee changed its tastes so constantly that one forgot how real coffee tasted; it was made of roasted barley, of ground walnuts, of acorns, of nutshells. Tea was manufactured of strawberry leaves and any other berry-leaves that were tolerable; the blossom of the lime-tree was a superior and respectable member in an enormous family. Even beer-powders found purchasers when the doubtful liquids long dispensed as "Bier" ceased to be doled out. The city of Vienna produced a successful substitute for meat. This substitute was called "Zef"; it was substantial—you fell asleep after dinner beyond aye or nay—and really was a valuable foodstuff, being made of some variety of beans; but the substitute was too good and failed to reach the poor in appreciable quantities; for the people nearer the source of production also were hungry.

On what, then, did the people live? Largely on potatoes and vegetables of the turnip kind, and on whatever they managed to secure by means of the distribution tickets after standing for hours, even whole nights, in the queues outside the shops. "Polonaise" was the name conferred by the caustic Viennese humour on these parades—"danses macabres," if you will. At the meat markets of Vienna one could see three or four queues, each a few hundred yards long. One morning they were attended by an escort of mounted police, for on the preceding day the people had not been patient enough. Not so long ago the Prague folk went marketing at their own prices—took the goods and paid a "fair" price; for the people were many and the sellers few. The queue was not a reliable factor for the spread of "kultur"; the hours of standing (some came at dusk to wait for the next day) amid promiscuous company did not purify the moral or the economic outlook on life. There were queues for all the necessaries of life from bread to tobacco: a workman in Cracow recently went mad while waiting in the tobacco "ogonek" (*little* tail); last year one man was

sentenced by courtmartial to six weeks' arrest and other people to fines for becoming disorderly in a potato-queue. No wonder, when it so often happened that a considerable tip of the tail got nothing—sometimes friends and old customers had been supplied quickly at other doors.

Certainly those queues, lined along the footpath, two or three abreast, reaching to the corner of the block, then tucked away down the side street and perhaps folded round yet another corner, will remain in the imagination as a symbol of the people's great war. That standing in line (*anstellen*) bit like acid into the soul of the people. Here is a conversation I once heard in a Viennese street-car going towards a poorer suburb. Three dogs were running with lolling tongues after the tram in which their master was; the morning was in the hot summer of 1917. A pale thin woman, with eyes all circled wide with black, sat with hands clasped on her lap and looked out pityingly at the dogs. "Poor beasts!" said she aloud. A man retorts: "They like that." "Ah! but they're so thin." "So are we," came a common reply from the car. "Well, we don't have to run," rejoined the woman. "Oh no! We've only got to stand seven or eight hours on the flags," said the vox populi. Then the woman appealed to sentiment: "May be—but I feel for the poor beasts." And the answer came unabashed: "All right, but nowadays we must feel for ourselves." Soviet government was the ideal of the queue.

The queue was only an appendage of the whole food terror. More real horrors were the prices of food caused by scarcity and the depreciation of money. To realise the rise of prices we must translate the sums into English money at the pre-war rate of exchange (1 crown = 10d.); thus we can get some idea of how the peoples concerned viewed the rise, else we can take a list such as follows, published in the *Glos Narodu* (Cracow), September 19, 1918. At that time bread was costing 16 times the pre-war price, flour 26 times, potatoes 13 times, milk 3 times,

meat 13 times, sugar 14 times, lard 20 times, butter 12 times, tea 10 times, soap 43 times. The same paper on June 28, 1918, quoted as prices of the last few weeks before that: for a kilogram (a little over two pounds) of butter, 43s. to 45s.; for a kilo of sausages, 27s. to 33s.; for a kilo of lard, 33s. to 36s.; for a kilo of bread, 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d.; for a litre of milk (a little less than a quart), 2s. 6d.

A time came when money was powerless or nearly so. I know of a case where coal could be got (even a large order) only on condition that the purchaser secured for the coal-merchant a certain quantity of lard. Before the armistice the papers printed daily such advertisements as :—" I am offering first-class material for a gentleman's *and* a lady's cloak *in exchange* for sugar, wheaten flour, lard, eggs, or butter "; " Fats, eggs, flour for a good Persian carpet of fair size "; " I will exchange a pair of lady's boots (new, hand-made, laced, pre-war) for *coffee*; " " I have tobacco, cigars and cigarettes; I want flour and sugar. Who will exchange with me? " Belonging to the same category and yet revealing a new want—the scarcity of lodgings—were advertisements of the following type: " I will give 5 kilos of sugar and ¼ kilo of coffee or a packet of *pre-war* tea or 5 kilos of flour to anyone who will get me a dwelling of one or 2 rooms "; " 50 kilos of flour for finding out dwelling of 4 or 5 rooms "—and the examples could be multiplied of the baits held out to hungry appetites. Even the honesty of the finder was stimulated to restore a lady's lost jacket by the reward of 50 kilos of meal. What these symptomatic advertisements reveal in the small household was seen on a larger scale in August, 1918, when a Galician bank sent representatives to Switzerland, and when they failed there, to Holland, to buy cows. The Swiss would give each of the 3,000 cows required for 5,000 crowns in gold or 30,000 crowns in bank-notes of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. The Dutch would only hear of barter—cows for timber—

but when the Poles could only guarantee to send the timber after the war, the Dutch would not part with their cows.

Life away there on the Continent is all too uncertain and uneasy for enjoyment. If you fall sick, you may not be able to procure the remedies prescribed (even such an innocent thing as turpentine may have to be sought for over a whole country). If you want to travel from one town to another, you will be fortunate if you get a standing place on a corridor (many a good man has paid with his life for travelling on the roof of a railway carriage); if you do chance to secure a seat, you will still be haunted with fears about the efficiency of the engine, about the soundness of the permanent way, about the possibility of collisions (ordinary collisions have of late been merely mentioned *en passant* by the papers). If you want a dinner—well, I have already said enough about food. If you need clothes, you may be able to procure something passable at the following figures :—

Light suit,	£50 to £75 in Warsaw ;	£50 to £63 in Cracow.	
Pair of boots,	£20 to £25 ,,	£13 to £16	,,
Hat,	£6 to £7 10s. ,,	£5 to £6	,,
Neck-tie,	£2 to £2 10s. ,,	£1 10s. to £2	,,
Pair of socks,	£2 ,,	£1 15s.	,,
Collar,	5s. ,,	8s.	,,

These were the prices current last May. And yet they did not seem to cloud the vision of a Greater Poland or seriously interfere with a vigorous attempt to reconstruct its ancient boundaries, though Germans, Bolsheviks, Ruthenes and others sat menacingly on those boundaries. We all know how Amphion built the walls of Thebes by the sound of sweet music. I fear that something more than the music of a Paderewski will be needed to realise the dreams of Young Poland.

D. J. F.

III.—Spain's Homage to the Sacred Heart.

ON the 30th of May took place an event which may be ranked as of signal moment in the history of Catholic devotion and also in that of Spain. A solemn and official consecration of the country and nation to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer, carried out with pomp by Spain's accredited representatives and marked by the completion and consecration of a colossal monument in marble—such was the goal to which earnest workers had long been directing their energies, and such was the consummation for which the annual feast of St. Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon, provided an appropriate date.

The hill "de los Angeles" was the chosen spot for the memorial and the celebration. It lies in the exact geographical centre of the Peninsula, about half an hour's journey by train from Madrid.

For many years the idea of a gigantic national monument in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus had inspired many religious souls in Spain; but the flames of war, involving the greater part of Europe and threatening the rest, were the signal for the actual enterprise of collecting the necessary funds and putting the design into execution. This work was carried out energetically—mainly by a committee of ladies presided over by the Duchess de la Conquista, and on the 1st of June, 1916, the foundation stone was laid. The actual execution of the monument was entrusted to the architect Don Carlos Maura y Nadal and the sculptor Don Aniceto Marinas. As it rises to a height of forty metres, the statue of Christ (itself nine metres high) which crowns it is visible from innumerable points of the immense plain which surrounds the Spanish capital. The sculptor and his helpers have been, perhaps, more concerned to achieve the result of immediate and popular devotional appeal than to fulfil the exigencies of a classic artistry; but nevertheless they seem to have produced an *ensemble* of much nobility and beauty. The supreme

central figure must of necessity—as the artists themselves have reminded their judges—in some degree disappoint; but it combines in a remarkable measure dignity, animation and attractiveness. Christ, whose Heart is displayed in the accepted mystical manner, extends his arms in a gesture suggestive both of blessing and of invitation, and the noble pose of the head harmonizes with both these ideas. The huge pedestal is of obelisk form, but heavily adorned; immediately under the statue it bears the words, "Reino in España," "I reign in Spain"; beneath this is a bas-relief of the Immaculate Virgin, reminiscent of Murillo's picture, and lower still a group of two wide-winged angels, who support the escutcheon of Spain. On either side of the foot of the pedestal a space of some four inches is occupied by a group of symbolical figures—that on the left of the spectator representing Humanity Sanctified, that on the right Humanity seeking Sanctification. In the latter group Charity, Courage, Love, Humility and Penance among the different classes of society are represented by a nun surrounded by five children, a youth of noble aspect, a girl in First Communion garb, a man and a woman, poor and toil-worn, the woman clasping an infant, and an aged man, half-nude and in prostrate attitude. The other group presents holy personages particularly notable in connection with the love of Christ or its manifestation in the revelations of His Sacred Heart—St. John the Evangelist, St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Gertrude, St. Teresa, Blessed Margaret Mary, and the Venerable Bernard Hoyos.[1] Between these groups and on the pedestal as it rises from its base flowers are abundantly sculptured: they symbolize the onward-

[1] Father Bernard Hoyos will certainly be, among all these names, the one least familiar to our readers. He was a young Spanish Jesuit, who, entering the Order in 1727, at the age of sixteen, died only eight years later. His life was entirely uneventful, but distinguished (in the eyes of his intimate associates) by great virtues and also (it would appear) by supernatural illuminations resembling those of the Blessed Margaret Mary. He published nothing, and his manuscript remains seem to have been lost. The preliminary steps towards his canonization have been taken.

leading attractions of divine love and celestial glory. From the grassy plain a flight of some fifteen steps leads up to an altar, which forms in front the starting-point of the pedestal; above its left and right extremities are carved the papal and primatial arms of Rome and Toledo.

On the day of the inauguration a huge national banner floated from the side of the monument. Preparations had been made on a vast scale for the transport and accommodation of the multitudes, distinguished and undistinguished, who flocked to the ceremony to the number of some 14,000. Regarded as a mere spectacle, a most brilliant scene was presented by the immense variety of costumes and emblems—civil, religious and military, which filled the wide grassy space or were gathered into the special positions appointed for the various classes and orders who took part in the ceremony. Religious associations of every kind from every part of the Peninsula; cavaliers of the historic orders of the Golden Fleece, Calatrava and Santiago; the costumes and equipages of wealth and fashion; men and women of the toiling masses, free for the day from field and factory; children from the schools; prelates, including cardinals, archbishops and over twenty bishops; military, naval and municipal authorities; all the Ministers of State, except one who was ill; the royal family, including Queen Maria Christina; and finally "los Reyes" themselves: such were the more typical representatives of Spain who appeared on behalf of their nation before the colossal image of the Saviour.

It was a day of glorious summer weather—of sunbeams tempered by a vigorous breeze. At 11.45 the religious ceremony began with the blessing of the monument by the Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr. Ragonesi. Then Mass was said at the summit of its fifteen steps by the Bishop of Madrid and Alcalà. Sacred music was rendered by two choirs—one of male singers (the Orfeon de S. José), the other of a society of women-workers. At the Blessing,

a telegram conveying the Apostolic Benediction of His Holiness the Pope was read aloud. At the end of Mass the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. Then the King, in gala attire, followed by the royal family, who remained kneeling at the foot, approached the steps and ascended to the altar. Alfonso XIII. took his place, standing, at the Gospel side among the officiating clergy, and in a loud and clear voice, which was audible (it is said) to all the immense multitude, read out the following act of consecration :[1]

O Heart of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, Heart of the God-Man, Redeemer of the World, King of Kings and Lord of Lords ! Spain, a people of Thy inheritance and of Thy predilection, to-day prostrates itself reverently before this throne of Thy grace, which rises up for Thee in the midst of the Peninsula. All the races that inhabit it, all the lands that compose it have built up in the course of ages and wrought into unity by mutual loyalty this great Spanish nation, strong and constant in love of religion and in affection to the monarchy.

Sensible of the Catholic traditions of Spanish royalty and rejoicing to continue the record of its faith and its devotion to Thy Divine Person, we confess that Thou hast come on earth to establish the kingdom of God in the peace of souls redeemed by Thy blood and in the happiness of peoples who strive for Thy holy law ; we recognise that Thy divinity finds its glory in granting a share of authority to the rulers of the earth, and that from Thee proceeds the force and sanction of all just laws, whose observance is the foundation of order and peace. Thou art the sure path leading to the possession of eternal life, the inextinguishable light by which minds are enabled to see truth, the principle and spring of all life and of all rightful social progress ; for on Thee and on the strength and sweetness of Thy grace depend all virtue and all heroism that can adorn or elevate the soul.

May, then, Thy blessed kingdom come amongst us—Thy kingdom of justice and love ! Reign in the hearts of men in every family circle, in the minds of the wise, in the centres of science and letters, in our country's laws and institutions !

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[1] It is understood that the Act was composed under the King's own direction and inspiration.

We thank Thee, O Lord, for having mercifully saved us from the widespread horrors of a war which has cost the nations so much blood; continue to extend over us the protection of Thy loving providence!

From this elevation, which we have chosen for Thee as a token of the desire we cherish that Thou shouldst preside over all our undertakings, bless the poor, the toilers, the humblest classes; that in the peaceful harmony of all grades of society they may find justice and charity to sweeten their lives and lighten their labours. Bless the army and the navy, those valiant arms of our country that in loyalty, discipline and courage they may ever guard their country and defend the right. Bless all of us who join together here in the cordiality of a common and sincere love of religion and native land, in the desire to consecrate to Thee our lives, in the earnest prayer that we may thus merit to die in the secure possession of Thy love and in the safe refuge of Thy adorable Heart. Amen.

At the conclusion of this solemn act of piety, the scene was a moving one. Loud cries of joy and shouts of applause filled the air, and from many eyes flowed abundant tears. The Blessed Sacrament was then carried in solemn procession by the Cardinal Primate of Toledo to the neighbouring church of Our Lady of the Angels, the canopy being borne by the Infante Don Carlos, the Minister of War, General Santiago, and four members of the nobility. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament concluded the religious ceremonies. At the departure of the king and the royal party enthusiasm and excitement reached an extraordinary pitch in the mingled singing of hymns and shouts and cries of loyalty which closed a manifestation successful and impressive throughout.

No wonder if the Catholics—that is, the great mass of the people—of Spain feel glad and proud of such an event. Their sky is not cloudless, nor their horizon clear; they know well of Ferrers who attack openly and of conventicles who plot secretly. But if the human lot is theirs, at least they are not allowing their cause to go by default. It is needless to emphasize the contrast between the solemn act of Alfonso XIII., his ministers and his people on the one hand and on the other the proceedings of rulers

and representatives of great States elsewhere. While the human wisdom that has reduced Europe to a wreck is endeavouring to build up out of the ruins a new Eden for itself without the help of God; while the human ethics that have gilded all the old tyrannies now serve as the mask for new greeds and new hypocrisies, Christian Spain has proclaimed and has wrought into the marble of its midpeninsular memorial—may she have strength to live up to it!—the Christian truth that there is a Divine Ruler whose sovereignty the princes and peoples of this world must, sooner or later, acknowledge.

MIGUEL D.

REVIEWS.

Apologetics.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS: An Exposition of the Intellectual Basis of the Christian Religion. (The Westminster Library). Specially written for Senior Students. By Rev. T. J. Walshe. London: Longmans. 1919. Pp. xv., 252. 6*s.* 0*d.* net.

ACADEMIC opinion has in the past few years come to realise, in a very concrete fashion, that all Catholics, highly educated in secular knowledge, must also be highly educated in religion. That concrete realisation means the production of manuals of advanced study, suited to the later period of secondary education and to the subsequent years of University work. Father Walshe has added a notable volume to a list already distinguished by including the first part of so finely-executed a treatise as that of Dr. Michael Sheehan, now Vice-President of Maynooth. Differing much in scope and subject-matter, these two works are equally admirable in that they both call for and repay vigorous intellectual effort. Father Walshe says that when "students are called upon to unravel the intricacies of the Differential and Integral Calculus set for B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, it is surely not too much to expect that the metaphysical principles which are the support of Natural and Supernatural Religion should have some share of their attention." So he sets out "to reproduce in English form the classical arguments"; and he does so with solid success, in a style so terse and with a precision of utterance so rigorous that it compels thought in even the casual reader.

The argument for this exacting process was never better put than in a long and most important, though now almost forgotten, letter by William George Ward (*The Rambler*, Feb., 1849, Vol. III., pp. 446-451). The best intellect of the Oxford Movement there claimed "the very first place of all, on every possible ground, moral no less than intellectual, intellectual no less than moral," for "a careful and methodical study of religion . . . so regular, methodical and extensive a course of study that it shall be felt that no one subject is more carefully and systematically pursued." Having urged the moral ground, the need of balancing the cultivation of the intellect in secular learning by the equally intensive study of religion, he adds that "the intellectual ground is that I know no one subject

that can be named which will have any effect that can for a moment be compared with the effect of this, the principle which gives to the whole course of practical life its one true interpretation."

W. G. Ward outlined a most suggestive programme, including Apologetic and Ascetical elements, as well as the Vulgate and the text of St. Augustine and St. Bernard. He would have been keenly interested in so methodical and stimulating a plan as that worked out in the volume now under consideration. So, too, would Newman ; for Father Walshe opens with the Philosophy of Cognition, and in a remarkably stimulating way makes the student face, in the most modern form, practically all the great problems of the nature and relations of God, Man, and the " World administered by Science," to reach Revelation, God made Man, and the early centuries of the Christian Church.

The vast area covered in this volume makes it impossible for a reviewer to attempt to treat of any of the multitude of problems therein dealt with. Add to this, that Father Walshe, as readers of the *Irish Theological Quarterly* know, has an independent and personal line of treatment, and can deal as faithfully with the Neo-Scholastics of Louvain (pp. 6-14) as with Bergson, and with Molina (p. 81) as with the Modernist Eschatology. Indeed it might be suggested that in the future editions, so certain to come, there should be clear indications given of the religious and doctrinal status of the Catholic writers dissented from by Father Walshe. A short summary or appendix on the various schools of thought considered by the writer would be needed even by University students. They ought to be told clearly, in a general manual of Christian Apologetics, that they can, as Catholics, hold many views which are rejected by the writer.

The examination of so substantially successful a treatise as that of Father Walshe makes it evident that, while exposition of Apologetics by a competent Lecturer is absolutely necessary, systematic study is also necessary for a reasonable degree of intellectual and moral profit. For this Ward looked : and it is futile to expect that mere attendance at lectures, not based on a published manual nor followed by serious study, will place the religious instruction of advanced students in a satisfactory position. It is in this connection that the reviewer would venture on a further suggestion—something of an innovation perhaps. Should not the solution of objections to doctrine be often rather suggested than stated in full ? The same course would be often profitable also as to " criticism of specific arguments." Some such treatment of portions of a manual of Apologetics seems necessary, if it is to have the disciplinary value,

intellectual and moral, which W. G. Ward claimed for it as a subject of study, and if it is to rank equal to the problem and exercise side of scientific courses for degrees in Universities, as Father Walshe (quoted above) with justice asserts.

To students of Greek and Roman History the concluding sections of this book, descriptive of the Pagan world in its contrasts with Christian virtues, will be of special service. The historical blindness of the Renaissance still envelops classical studies. And it may be added that the plain and terse views of the writer are an excellent example of how historical study in all its branches can be Christianized, and of how Catholic order in prayer, worship, and outlook on the world must ever be interlocked with the intellectual realization of Catholic dogma. T. C.

A HANDBOOK OF MORAL THEOLOGY. By A. Koch, D.D. Adapted and edited by A. Preuss. Vol. I. : Introduction ; Morality, its Subject, Norm and Object. Vol. II. : Sin and the Means of Grace. St. Louis and London : Herder. 1918, 1919. Pages 293, 230. Price 7*s.* net. each.

MR. Preuss, after translating and adapting Pohle's Dogmatic Theology, proposes to increase the indebtedness of Catholic students to him by issuing an English edition of Dr. Koch's Moral Theology in five volumes. The first volume forms an admirable introduction suitable not only to anyone desirous of acquiring a general idea of the scope and general concepts of Catholic moral theology, but also to theological students who feel the need of a vernacular supplement to Latin manuals. After a preliminary sketch of the sources, object and history of Catholic moral theology, the author gives a careful analysis of the fundamental ideas, problems, terminology of ethics—free will, law, conscience, probabilism, etc. Thus the work is interesting to the philosopher as well as to the theologian. There is also a good deal of useful apologetic matter, not only in the main teaching but in the many side-issues which are dealt with, *e.g.*, the lives of the saints, the authority of St. Alphonsus, the repudiation of a double standard of morality, a defence of the Catholic teaching on the counsels, etc. Mr. Preuss has evidently done his work well and has extended the bibliographies. The volume is, therefore, a helpful introduction to Catholic ethics and moral philosophy.

The work does not profess great profundity or detailed scholarship ; perhaps it is thus all the better adapted for students. The many intricate problems of theism and morality are treated rather popularly. The language is not always accurate. Thus (p. 4) we are told that such " systems as detach ethics from supernatural revelation may evolve the notion of utility, but they can never arrive at the concepts

of good and bad." The author's ethico-psychological discussions are decidedly tenuous; for instance the important subject of scruples is dismissed in less than four pages. The history of moral theology, too, though interesting, is too vague to be of much use. The bibliographies are undoubtedly copious but need pruning. Most of the books are now quite inaccessible, and as to many of them it is not easy to gather whether they are referred to with approval or in disagreement.

Since the above criticism was penned, the second volume has come to hand. It treats, clearly and concisely but without any originality, of Sin and the Sacraments. In an appendix the marriage impediments under the new Code of Canon Law are briefly enumerated. The work is useful not only for its many references and its sound views, but also because it will to many be more accessible and readable than Latin textbooks. Apart from any details, two broad criticisms may be fairly made:—(1) Though the first volume professed a historical spirit, there is not the smallest evidence of this in treating of the Sacraments—not even a passing reference to the works of Rauschen, Pourrat, Batiffol; apparently it is held that history applies to dogma but not to morals. (2) Much more might have been done to bring the matter into immediate contact with living practical problems; this is especially clear, for example, in the sections on Temptation and Matrimony. No doubt, these lacunæ will be filled in the subsequent volumes. Even the first two volumes make it clear that Koch's Handbook will fulfil the same valuable function in moral theology that Pohle's work already fills in dogmatics. A. J. R.

Biography.

JOHN REDMOND. A Biography by Warre B. Wells. London: Nisbet. 1919. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This book is a very readable description of Mr. Redmond's career, based largely on compilations of a like nature, principally (as the author acknowledges) on Mr. Redmond Howard's biography, which appeared whilst Mr. Redmond was still alive. It presents an intelligent resume of Irish political events during recent years and is reminiscent of the author's previous excursions in the same field. But it adds nothing to the knowledge which any student of the daily press might have assimilated, and it leaves the real biography of John Redmond still to be written. It is obvious that this can only be done by someone who has access to Mr. Redmond's papers and letters, and who was sufficiently acquainted with him to present a study of his personality based on intimate knowledge. The late Mr. Barry O'Brien, had he survived, would probably have given us what is required.

The private life of John Redmond, so quiet and uneventful in its ordered simplicity, presents to his biographer none of those dramatic moments which transformed Parnell's life story into a romance. The interest of Redmond's life lies entirely in his public political career. There also lies its tragedy, a tragedy more real and terrible than Parnell's ; for Parnell was partly at least the author of his own fall, whilst Redmond was the victim of powers and influences entirely beyond his control. From the struggle to overthrow the Lords' Veto in 1910 up to the last moment when his patriotic attempts to rescue agreement from the Convention ended in dismal failure every form of political complication dogged his footsteps. The apparent ease with which he surmounted most of these obstacles, and the cheerful courage with which he met adversity prevented many people from realising the magnitude of his task. In reality he vanquished greater difficulties than Parnell ever knew. It is sometimes said that he was weak, but it was his strength alone that carried the vacillating Liberal leaders through the Veto crisis, nor did he show much trust in English politicians during that period, as Mr. Wells clearly points out.

It is nearly always forgotten that it was the outbreak of the war which really wrecked his power and policy ; for from that moment party government practically ceased to exist, and the balance of power was dead. Henceforward he had to rely on the honour of English politicians. He took at once the position which he believed to be honourable and straightforward, and was repaid by treachery and trickery of the lowest kind. Mr. Wells does not bring this out clearly, not does he give the full story of his betrayal, which still remains to be told by someone with the full knowledge of the facts. Its publication will not injure the memory of John Redmond.

Mr. Wells is quite correct in pointing out that Mr. Redmond entirely failed to grasp the growth and power of the Sinn Fein movement after the Rebellion, and indeed before it. One might almost say that he not only failed but refused to see what was pressed upon his attention many times, and what was so apparent to anyone in touch with Irish realities. The long struggle for Home Rule, involving constant attendance in London, had prevented him from keeping in touch with Irish developments, and made him anxious to postpone or ignore the consideration of anything that deflected him from his main purpose. The same spirit led him to press the Government to ignore the Larne gun running when all the preparations had been made to prosecute the ringleaders and when prosecution would at least have established some kind of equality in the administration of Irish law. There was a time in John

Redmond's career when nothing save its hopeless impossibility prevented him from joining the physical force party ; but he was in reality a man of peace. An earlier and firmer recognition of the Volunteer movement might have saved many subsequent disasters and perhaps have led to a decisive victory ; but he was a Parliamentarian first, and he had no use for the Volunteers till they became a menace to his political power.

There is one moral to be derived from John Redmond's life which Mr. Wells does not draw. The days for negotiation and expediency in dealing with English politicians have gone. Never again must they be given an opportunity to betray as they betrayed John Redmond.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE VENERABLE BEDE. His Life and Writings. By Rt. Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D. Illustrated. London : S.P.C.K. 1919. 10*s.* net.

THIS book is a recast of an essay written more than forty years ago for the degree of B.D. Cantab. Some ten years later the writer became Professor of Art and Archæology at the same university ; later still he became Bishop of Stepney and then of Bristol. These various activities are reflected in the contents and character of the volume now before us. Art, archæology, theology and theological controversy are prominent, while historic lore and an unmistakeable interest in the Venerable Bede, his times and his surroundings, help to make the 327 pages in many respects a valuable guide to an important subject.[1]

The guidance, however, as may be supposed, is not of a kind to be accepted with absolute passivity. The author has his prepossessions and tendencies. For example, the Irish element in the building up of English Christianity, culture and art is here given an excessively small place. Dr. Browne's judgment that " to study the stately illuminated pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and then to pass immediately to the study of the Irish Book of Kells, is to pass from order to chaos," would not, we are confident, be that of any independent æsthetic tribunal. " The whole is Anglo-Saxon work, not Irish," and shows that " our ancestors were men of dignity." It was the carefully-motived judgment of Margaret Stokes and others that there was simply no such thing as an independent Anglo-Saxon school of illumination and penmanship ; that even the term

[1] We were about to throw in the index as an item deserving of praise, but find that it is very imperfect. To give one instance—the Synod of Whitby is not to be found under " Synod," or " Whitby," or " Streoneshalch."

"Hiberno-Saxon" is misleading, as the art it describes was in its origin and style purely Celtic. Wyatt, an English authority, declares: "It is to Ireland that the rich style of MS. ornamentation is due. Irish art was original and of marvellous perfection. We freely confess that in the practice of illumination at least they [the Irish] appear in advance of all Europe and of the Anglo-Saxons in particular." They had, in fact, previously led the way to an elementary knowledge of letters. "Through their zeal in copying out the Gospels," says R. Wülker, "the Irish scribes imposed their own alphabet, derived from the Latin, on the Scots and Kymry, the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans." Dr. Browne must, we fear, be ranked with the long succession of Englishmen who have too willingly forgotten that Ireland was the principal early teacher of Great Britain in religion, learning and arts.

This type of forgetfulness is here associated with another—an ignoring (if not denying) of England's immense debt to Papal Rome and of England's immemorial acceptance (through her best representatives) of Papal authority. The two matters are indeed too clearly written on Bede's pages to be altogether obscured on Bishop Browne's. But he is eager for anti-Roman controversy. He ventures to write: "It is needless to say of Bede or of his predecessor in date Aldhelm that we shall not find the Petrine claim in their writings." Needless!—when one English bishop, Bede's contemporary, could write to another:—

> Decrevimus in nostro synodali conventu . . . subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare; sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subjici.[1]

And as for not finding the "claim" in Bede's writings—one must first of all refuse to put together two propositions—one written over scores of pages in Bede's works, the other not questioned by any one in Bede's time—certainly not by Bede. The former is that the Pope exercised supreme spiritual jurisdiction in these islands, the latter that he did so as the official successor of St. Peter. But facts that cannot be denied can be obscured. Bishop Browne recurs repeatedly to what he considers evidences of "equality" between the two Apostles Peter and Paul. He finds evidence in such hymn-lines as these:—

> The one loftier in degree, the other more learned in teaching,
> The hearts of men are opened by the one, the stars by the other,
> The one opens the way to heaven with doctrine, the other with the keys.

Lines which a Boniface VIII. might, we fancy, have chanted heartily. When Dr. Browne held the See of Bristol, did he imagine

[1] *Epistola Bonifacii ad Cudberthum*, A.D. 742.

his pre-eminence "in degree" threatened by the fact that some cleric or layman seemed more eloquent or learned than himself ?

The Synod of Whitby is a well-known Anglican difficulty. It is also an oft-told tale—how the unique apostolic position of Peter and his successors was a central point of appeal, how the royal chairman ended the dispute by deciding that as Peter, on the admission of both sides, was prince of the Apostles and held the keys of the kingdom of heaven, it would be unwise to abandon a Roman usage which St. Peter had admittedly founded, and how all agreed—"adsidentes sive adstantes, majores una cum mediocribus." But even in this Gilead the Anglican eye can find balm. Bishop Browne is careful to point out that at the commencement of the Whitby proceedings Wilfred spoke of what he had himself seen in Rome—"Rome, where St. Peter and St. Paul lived, taught, suffered and were buried." Is not this an enuntiation of "equality," and does it not neutralize the *tendenz* of the rest of the narrative ?

The story of Whitby is not the only place where the reader of the Bishop's book will find the quoted texts more valuable than the comments. On page 188 is translated portion of a letter of Alcuin's to Pope Leo III., in which with most deferential humility the pallium is solicited for a newly-consecrated Archbishop of York,—solicited as a matter of "ecclesiastical necessity," as "very necessary to keep down the perversity of wicked men and to preserve the authority of Holy Church." On which Dr. Browne comments thus surprisingly : "This is a remarkably limited statement of the need for the pall, when we remember the tremendous claim made in later times." One may well ask—what more could Alcuin have said, what more urgent plea could he have made ?

Dr. Browne shows an interest which is more than merely artistic in the carved memorial crosses or crucifixes which have come down from the oldest Christianity of these islands. He went so far (he tells us) some twenty years ago as to join a committee who erected large and handsome memorial crosses, to the memories of Bede and Cædmon near their ruined monastic homes of Jarrow and Whitby. One was "unveiled" by the Archbishop of York, the other by Mr. Alfred Austin. These poetic and (we suppose) semi-liturgical proceedings were not quite consistent with the treatment of crosses up to that time and even up to to-day by the heirs of the Reformation ;[1]

[1] In 1918 the Chancellor of the diocese of Carlyle refused permission to have a representation of the Crucifixion erected in a certain parish church. "This painful subject," it was said in his reply to the petitioners, "placed in a conspicuous part of a parish church, before a mixed congregation of men, women and children, would be offensive to some, distressing to others, and of doubtful profit to the rest."

we can, however, but congratulate Dr. Browne on his manifestation, in this appropriate form, of piety to the memory of the two great English Benedictines.

On such incidental matters and for much of his historical narrative his book may be read with interest and profit. As a reflex, however, of the spiritual and religious world out of which grew the *Historia Ecclesiastica*—its Eucharistic life, its miracles, its honouring of the Blessed Virgin, its monastic ideals, its hierarchic system and many other things of moment—it is imperfect, uninspired and uninspiring. G. O'N.

JAMES FINTAN LALOR, PATRIOT AND POLITICAL ESSAYIST. By L. Fogarty, B.A. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 5*s.* net.

JAMES FINTAN LALOR, COLLECTED WRITINGS. Edited with an Introduction by Nathaniel M. Marlowe. Dublin: Maunsel. 1918. 1*s.* net.

MUCH interest was aroused in the writings and personality of James Fintan Lalor by the prominence which Connolly gave him in *Labour in Irish History.* Many students of Irish history after reading Connolly's book were anxious to read Lalor's works for themselves, but found some difficulty in getting them in a handy form, as the selection which Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue edited at the beginning of the present century had long been out of print. It is, therefore, not surprising that two Irish publishers should have attempted to fill this widely-felt want. The Talbot Press and Messrs. Maunsel have produced editions of Lalor's writings simultaneously, and both editions are excellent.

Miss Fogarty's edition, as the price would lead one to expect, is more complete and exhaustive than "Nathaniel Marlowe's," and will, no doubt, for many years, if not for all time, be regarded as the standard collection of Lalor's works. The biographical introduction, which is extremely interesting and well-written, throws a flood of light on a hitherto somewhat obscure figure in the stirring movements of the forties of last century. We must not be taken as suggesting that "Nathaniel Marlowe's" edition can be neglected. On the contrary, it is indispensable to a thorough understanding of Lalor that both books should be studied. If Miss Fogarty's book is distinguished by exhaustiveness, "Nathaniel Marlowe's" is distinguished by selection. None of Lalor's writings are printed in the latter which are not printed in the former, but "Nathaniel Marlowe's" introduction is in itself well worth the price of the book.

Both editors agree in drawing attention to the fact that Lalor was an economist rather than a nationalist, and Mr. Arthur Griffith in his excellent preface to Miss Fogarty's book states that "the restoration of the soil to the peasantry was a greater ideal to him than the restoration of political liberty to the nation." We cannot agree with Miss Fogarty's observation that Lalor would have spurned the title of "political economist," rather than "national" or "social economist." Miss Fogarty seems to lose sight of the fact that "political economy" is a term of art, and is almost identical in meaning with the German "Nationalökonomie." Politics in Ireland is too frequently used as a synonym for party politics. Surely the definition and assertion of the rights of a nation is the highest form of politics. It is in the sphere of "political economy" strictly so called that Lalor is an important figure, both on account of his influence on the mind of Henry George, who did so much to establish the doctrine of the people's right to the ownership of the land of the country, and of his influence on the practical policy of Davitt in his Irish agrarian programme.

The theory that Lalor was a Marxian socialist, as Connolly proclaimed him to be, is disproved by these two volumes. The article on the *Rights of Labour*, which gave rise to this theory, is printed without comment in "Nathaniel Marlowe's" edition; but Miss Fogarty points out that grave doubts exist as to whether it was written by Lalor at all. Mr. Griffith states categorically that it was written by Thomas Dean Reilly. But, even admitting that it came from Lalor's pen, there is nothing in it to show that the author held the extreme Marxian view on capital. "Nathaniel Marlowe," who (as we have said) prints the article without comment, expresses the opinion in his Introduction that "there is nothing in Lalor's writings to suggest that he foresaw at all the Marxian development of socialism." G. O'B.

Celtica.

AONGUS O DALAIGH. Edited by Rev. L. McKenna, S.J., M.A. Dublin: Maunsel. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Some two years ago Fr. McKenna earned sincere thanks from all students of the Irish language by editing for *The Irish Monthly* a series of poems ascribed to the great bard, Aongus Fionn O Dálaigh. These, with some valuable additions, are now to be had in book form. The number of poems is 55, and all except five deal with religious subjects. Fifteen are addressed directly to the Blessed Virgin and four others recount legends in her honour. There are

poems in praise of God, of Christ our Lord, of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Holy Cross and of John the Baptist, and poems dealing with death, penance, contrition, confession, God's mercy, our own faults, wisdom. There are also two laments in the best bardic style, one for a member of the MacCarthy family and the other for a certain chief named Dubh Rois.

The importance of this book is that it is the result of what Professor Bergin calls "pioneer work in a difficult field." The corpus of Irish Bardic Poetry is large and the amount that has been hitherto edited is almost negligible. Its publication will serve at least four purposes. It will be of value to the grammarian; for the poems abound in verbal forms, syntactical peculiarities and idioms of great interest. It will be welcomed by the biographer; for the poems cannot fail to throw some light on the character of the poet and the character of the person whom he eulogises. It will be of help to the historian; for from various direct or indirect references it will be possible to add much to our knowledge of the poet's period. Lastly, it will be of interest to the theologian; for many of the poems deal with religious subjects, and a study of them on comparative lines will reveal some outstanding features in the piety of the people at the time the poems were written.

The book as produced will be appreciated only by the learned. The language in the main is early modern Irish; but there are numerous words, phrases and verbal forms that have survived from an earlier period. Knowledge of Middle Irish is thus necessary for the understanding of the poems. The editor seems to expect that all readers will possess his own admirable knowledge of Irish metrics. In this he is mistaken. As a matter of fact the number of metres is few, and all are well known to advanced students of Irish; still a page or two in explanation of these, showing the requirements of each and pointing out the places in particular poems where these requirements are not fulfilled, would be desirable. Space could be found for this if the effort to identify the author was deferred until more reliable data come to hand. At present the introduction contains a page and a half of conclusions based on an identification which is hardly more than a mere guess.

The translation is, of course, good, though everyone who knows the language well will find parts which he cannot accept. When we consider that the great mass of bardic poetry lies still unpublished, that the authors of this poetry often rejoiced in making their language obscure, erudite and technical, and that as yet there is no dictionary of Middle Irish, we are in a position to realise the difficulties of translation. By securing the assistance of such dis-

tinguished scholars as Miss Knott, Prof. Bergin, Prof. Tomás O'Rathaille and Tórna, Fr. McKenna was able to assure a translation as good as the most up-to-date modern scholarship can make it.

The poems on the whole have one great advantage—they are short. All are readable. Some, notably Nos. VI. and IX., are very beautiful and remind one strongly of the Welsh mediæval poet Dafydd ap Gwilym. It is interesting to find a version of the old legend which is the basis of Fr. O'Leary's fine novel *Séadna* told in exquisite verse in No. XLIX. The story of the guilty mother who, having murdered her child, tried in vain to wash away the blood-stain from her hand will appeal to admirers of *Macbeth*, and the subsequent careers of the unhappy king and the unhappy mother may be contrasted.

It would certainly be a happy augury for the language if Fr. McKenna could devote himself wholly to further work in this great field. J. R.

Amhráin Mhuighe Seóla: *Traditional Songs from Galway and Mayo.* Collected and edited by Mrs. Costello, Tuam. London: The Irish Folk Song Society. Dublin: The Candle Press. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Rhythm, the placing of the bar-line, and a correct transcription of traditional ornament—these are problems which soon present themselves for solution to the collector who would make a faithful record of traditional Irish melodies. In rendering the slower airs, such as Seághan Ua Duibir an Ghleanna, the old piper or fiddler embroiders the long notes with a wealth of ornament which the uninitiated will find it difficult to transcribe. Mr. Carl Hardebeck sees the influence of this Irish tradition in the ornamental passages in the nocturnes of Field, and as Chopin undoubtedly learned from Field in this and other matters, we find an interesting and little thought-of link between the great Polish composer and the poor blind fiddler of Munster or Connaught. The elaborate ornaments beloved by the fiddler, and heard also in the whistling of our old tunes, would be impossible of rendering to the average singer. Hence we do not find them in the vocal versions of our melodies. Perhaps the term "vocal versions" needs an apology. It is explained by the fact that many of our melodies vary according as they are rendered by the piper, the fiddler, or the human voice. Some of our songs indeed have ornamental passages—as in Sail ós Ruaidh, No. 16 in Mrs. Costello's collection—but in the majority of cases they are absent, and when they occur they are simple in character, and

present no special difficulty to the transcriber. Rhythm and the bar-line are the rocks on which the transcribers of our songs are apt to founder. One who is acquainted with modern music only will often be puzzled to properly bar a traditional air. A knowledge of Gregorian chant would be useful here. Modern composers who seek to escape from the tyranny of the bar-line might do worse than study the methods of our traditional singers and musicians. As for the matter of rhythm, the key to this is to be found in the principles of Irish metrics.

Undoubtedly many collections of Irish music have suffered from two defects. In the first place the transcribers were ignorant of Irish and of the principles of Irish Metrics, and secondly, in trying to express the old melodies in terms of modern notation, they "corrected" the traditional versions. In other words they did vital injury to the airs by forcing them to fit a mould from which they did not issue.

Mrs. Costello has made a praiseworthy attempt to record the songs exactly as she heard them. She differs from most other collectors in this that she confined efforts to a district with which she was well acquainted. Thus it was possible for her to become quite familiar with the songs before attempting the work of transcription. She solves the difficulty of the bar-line by treating it as a moveable quantity, following in this the example of Mr. Carl Hardebeck and Mr. Herbert Hughes. Her work has not been done hurriedly. The present book is the fruit of many years' labour, if we can apply such a word to the loving care of which we here find evidence. The result is a collection of Irish airs which we can accept as a trustworthy record of the songs as heard by the transcriber.

A collection like that under review suggests a question. Is there such a thing as dialect in our music ? In other words, are there characteristic and well-defined differences between the airs of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster ? Here is a subject for enquiry which might well fascinate the enthusiast. It is by studying such collections as that of Mrs. Costello that the problem may be solved.

Some of the songs in this collection have their Munster versions, among them being a Tawin variant of the well-known air, "Oh, Limerick is beautiful." In connection with this it is interesting to note that the Tawin people have a tradition that they came originally from Co. Clare. It is a pity that they did not retain in this air the thrice-repeated dominant with which the original air characteristically ends. A little light may be thrown on the question of versions and variants by a statement in Mrs. Costello's note on No. 16 in the Collection. She tells us : "I never heard this particular air from

any but the Hession family. They learned it from their grandmother, each member of the family singing it with slight variations." How many different versions of our melodies have had their origin in ust such " slight variations " ?

Much more might be said of Mrs. Costello's Collection if the space at our disposal permitted. She has given us a delightful book which deserves a place in the library of every lover of Irish music. C. O'B.

STUDIES IN MODERN IRISH. By Rev. Gerald O'Nolan, M.A. Dublin : Educational Co. of Ireland. 1919. 6*s*. net.

Fr. O'Nolan's book will be of the greatest possible value to teachers and to advanced students of the Irish language. Hitherto such have had to rely almost wholly on their own resources when dealing with anything beyond the ordinary simple rules and principles of the language. When a knotty point in syntax or grammar presented itself, the teacher or student had no book to which he could turn for help ; and he was compelled, if he wished to pursue the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, to sit down and work it out for himself. The amount of time and labour spent in doing this can be imagined. Some, as a result, have had bulky collections of notes on grammar and idiom for some years past, but have reserved them for personal use or for the use of their private classes. In the wide field over which they range Fr. O'Nolan's scholarly studies will supersede all these. We have at last an advanced grammar to which we can turn for help in many difficulties.

The book contains fifteen chapters, and each chapter is the result of deep and fruitful study. New light is thrown on the verbs ᵢr and ᵴá, and the principle governing construction with the former is stated with a simplicity and clearness which will appeal to logical minds. Teachers who have been worried by the unsatisfactory treatment of this subject in existing grammars will be well advised to master this chapter. Skilfully summarised and adapted to the abilities of the pupils, it can be used with success in many classes. The exercises in English for translation into Irish—and this applies to the whole book—are too long and altogether too difficult. Three such sentences would have been sufficient in all cases, and even then it would have been well to give the correct Irish in footnotes or in an appendix to the book. The remaining sentences could have been kept over for the treatise on Prose Composition which is to form a second part to the present work. It is safe to assert that not ten per cent. of those who will study Fr.

O'Nolan's book will be competent to translate his perfect English into perfect Irish. If they content themselves with imperfect renderings, the good resulting will be necessarily small; and where are they to secure perfect renderings if Fr. O'Nolan himself does not supply them? Some few who have read widely will no doubt be able to trace to their source many of the Irish sentences of which the English sentences are translations; but this is a laborious exercise which students of the book ought to be spared. There would be a distinct feeling of relief if Fr. O'Nolan supplied the correct translation of these exercises as an appendix to Part II., or in any other way which pleases him. It is devoutly to be hoped that if in Part II. pieces translated from Irish into English are given for re-translation into Irish, the correct version will also be given, or, failing that, such a reference to the original as will enable the student to locate it easily. If this is not done the book will lose much of its value.

In a book full of good things it is difficult to select anything for special mention. Perhaps the treatment of the Verbal Noun and the treatment of the Subjunctive Mood may be mentioned as particularly good. Some pages of elementary philology are added which may be of interest to the student when he has assimilated the other chapters. By the way, Pedersen's theory that initial *h-* is often the remnant of an Indo-Germanic *p-* is certainly not proved, and it is a mistake to convey the impression that it is, as the author does on p. 245. For those desirous of obtaining a thorough grasp of the Irish language these studies are simply a necessity. To all such our advice is—get this book, study it, master it. J. R.

SPIORAID NA SAOIRSE: Airtinn Draoidheachta ar an mbliadain 1916. An tAthair Padraig Ua Duinnin cecinit. Baile Átha Cliath: M. H. Gill agus a mac, teor. 3/6 glan.

MR. Daniel Corkery has recently made a plea for "the despised *aisling*." Now comes Father Dinneen's poem to give force to his argument. Here we have the *aisling* indeed, but not the *aisling* as we knew it. This is the *aisling* glorified, exalted, not the tender, weeping lyric that loves the dewy banks of streams and the lonely *lios*, but a braver, bolder thing that sings of freedom and a great conflict, and lifts the banner of hope high above the ruin of defeat. So that Mr. Corkery was right to plead for the *aisling*. It had not served all its purpose. It was by no means an old mantle to be discarded—a dead thing to be laid reverently aside.

Father Dinneen has shown how it can be made an instrument of higher and nobler utterance than was contemplated by the older poets. With them its purpose was altogether lyric. The sorrows

and hopes of Ireland were sung by some visionary maiden whom the poet meets in one of those quiet places where streams run, or fairies have a home. In Father Dinneen's poem the poet is an onlooker,—an observer who narrates in limpid verse the things he sees and hears in his vision. And his subject is the epic one of battle for a great cause—not only the battle where man meets man in deadly conflict, and the mighty engines of destruction clash and roar, but the greater, more significant struggle when opposing ideals war for the supremacy of the soul. These are the two great arguments that move through the poem, interwoven and interdependent—the fateful and short-lived struggle of Easter Week, and the conflict between the Spirit of Freedom and the Spirit of Compromise for the soul of Ireland. It is a larger theme than our Gaelic poets have yet essayed.

The poem is too long for detailed criticism here, but there are points which claim recognition even in a short notice. The arguments of the visionary women are an admirable exposition of the new spirit in Ireland, the passages descriptive of the Easter Week Rebellion have an abiding interest, and the sincere and tender sketches of the executed leaders are sure of a sympathetic reading. We commend the sure instinct which led Father Dinneen to weave his poem out of the present-day vernacular, and to eschew words and phrases which are obsolete or unusual. The poem has the simplicity and dignity which go so well together in the telling of a great action.

The metre of the poem seems somewhat slender for the strain of an argument so prolonged. The poet varies it indeed in places, and lengthens his line with admirable judgment when the greater dignity of his theme demands it. Still we could wish that he had chosen, or perhaps adapted, one of the more robust forms of Gaelic metre with which he is so familiar.

Father Dinneen is to be congratulated on a remarkable achievement. This poem, and the "Laoiche Bhraighdeanaigh" of Mr. P. Beasley, and "Seacht mBuaidh an Éirghe Amach" by P. Ó Conaire, are among the most hopeful fruit which the literary movement in Irish has given us. C. O'B.

Classics.

A HANDBOOK OF ANTIQUE PROSE-RHYTHM. Part I.—History of Greek Prose-metre. By A. W. De Groot, Conservator of the Library of the University of Groningen. The Hague: J. B. Wolters. 1918.

ANOTHER branch of classical (Prof. Clery would call it "pseudo-classical") science! To those who have seen the text-books of

epigraphy, palæography, papyrology, archæology, *Quellenkritik* and the rest, of which modern research has been so prolific, the claims of a new rival can hardly appear welcome. Yet the sober truth is that the science of " prose-metrics " (it has not yet been properly baptised) was born in the 'nineties, and is rapidly passing through the first stages of adolescence. Please God, it will never be taught in our schools ; but account will have to be taken of it in our universities, for its conclusions promise much towards a solution of many vexed problems of literary interest. Perhaps it is still premature to speak thus lightly of its conclusions. Upwards of a hundred isolated studies have already appeared ; most of them in France and Germany, some of them in Italy, Belgium and America, hardly any in England ; but the results have nowhere been co-ordinated in a single work, and Herr de Groot will, we fear, mislead many of his readers by calling the present work a Handbook of Prose-rhythm. Apart from the excellent bibliography at the end, there is nothing in this book which justifies the title. Herr de Groot has given us, in lecture-form, a series of investigations into problems which are as yet very far from a solution ; that and nothing more.

Most urgent for students of Greek and Latin prose-metre is the need of a book which will collect the statistical results independently arrived at by various students, compare them and give a connected account of the history of prose-metre in both languages. Here De Groot conspicuously fails. No attempt is made to give in clear outline the processes of evolution to which he constantly alludes ; the result is utter confusion.

The rhythms of Plato, Demosthenes, Philo, Plutarch, Procopius and others are analysed and compared by the Dutch scholar ; but there is no general scheme into which his conclusions can be fitted. Without previous knowledge it is impossible to understand from these pages that Greek rhythmical prose, from its first crude beginnings in the writings of Thrasymachus and Gorgias, was matured by Plato, Isocrates and Demosthenes, became stereotyped in the hands of the " Asianic " rhetorical writers and notably of Hegesias (from whom Cicero borrowed his theory of prose-rhythm) and finally, in the imperial period, degenerated into that monotonous accentual cadence which is to be found in the latest Greek sophists and historians, as also in their Latin contemporaries. If Herr de Groot completes his scheme with a volume on Latin prose-metre we hope that he will make the historical evolution plainer to the ordinary reader.

Many points of interest are touched on in these pages, and they illustrate the possible importance of the new science. Textual

questions are not discussed, though some good general advice is given (pp. 143-6). For most scholars this will seem the most hopeful side of prose-metrics, for once we have established the prose-rhythm favoured by each author, particularly in the final "clausula," where the rhythm is most marked, we have a valuable criterion for checking MSS. readings and editorial conjectures. Many an "emendator's" reputation will be shattered by this simple test, and the results will be no less valuable for the comparison of rival MSS. The present reviewer has noted numerous passages where the requirements of prose-rhythm throw light on the true text of Symmachus, and there is no author of late Latin or Greek literature for whom the same work cannot be done. But prose-rhythm is of interest to others besides purely textual scholars. Those who have read Ludoslawski's "Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic," will be interested in De Groot's discussion of the chronology of Plato's dialogues as illustrated by his use of rhythm (pp. 68-82); and it is here worth noting that another vexed problem of literary chronology, the relation of Tertullian's "Apology" to the "Octavius" of Minucius Felix, has recently been admirably treated from the same standpoint by an Italian scholar, F. di Capua. On questions of authenticity, forgery and interpolation the new test of metre has already furnished some interesting conclusions; and there is good reason to expect from the same source valuable results as to the relation of quantity and accent in both Greek and Latin.

In conclusion, we must offer some plain criticism as to points of detail. Herr de Groot is obviously an enthusiast for his subject, but he has the gift of obscurity and confusion in a marked degree. There is not a page of this book which does not make difficult reading, many of them are unintelligible to the average intelligence. Herr de Groot revels in such mysterious symbols as—∪,∪∪—∪ or ∪∪∪,∪∪∪, where a concrete example (esse videatur, saécula saeculórum) would make all plain. Then again, such terms as "methodological," "typology," convey no meaning without explanation. De Groot's pupils at Groningen must, we feel, have a bewildering existence. Lastly, some comment is needed on the translation, for Herr de Groot usually writes in German. The very title of the present work shows that the translator does not know English. We constantly feel German (or is it Dutch ?) through all this jargon. Thus "propaganda work" on p. 76 must surely stand for *bahnbrechend*, and "artless writing," on p. 20, for *kunstlos*. When Herr de Groot is bringing out the second volume of his work, he would do well no longer to entrust the supervision of his translation to "Mr. G. Dudok." A. G.

Education.

VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION BY HOME PROJECTS. By Rufus W. Stimson. New York : Macmillan. 1919. $2.50.

IN no country has more attention been directed of recent years to the education of farmers than in the United States. Every state has its agricultural department, its well-endowed colleges and experimental stations where research work is undertaken by competent bacteriologists and chemists and the results made public in bulletins which are models of clarity. The countryman is lured by many ways into the fold of the educationalist. There are large summer camps where hundreds, even thousands attend living with their families in tents, listening to lectures varied with sports and country amusements. The Granges, which were the first farmers' organisations, made themselves as mysteriously attractive as possible with initiation ceremonies and secret passwords for those who advanced into the mysteries of Ceres or Pomona. Agricultural organisation was endowed with the glamour of romance. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, who like Tom Sayers had read dime novels, were attracted by the mystery which covered nothing more dangerous to society than a desire for good agricultural business. The Country Life Movement, under the patronage of President Roosevelt, gave a new impetus to agricultural organisation and education, and now no farmers in the world have such educational facilities. It is possible there are experts in Europe quite equal in knowledge to any in the United States ; but nowhere is such energy given to the work of popularising the knowledge of experts. Their educational books are admirable. I remember being specially struck with a small arithmetic in use in country schools and agricultural colleges. In this book mathematics and agriculture were telescoped together, agriculture was taught through the medium of mathematics and the mathematical problems were all drawn from agricultural business. A boy who studied that arithmetic would be a keen business man because every business transaction likely to arise in his later career as a farmer would have been worked out by him as problems set him in his school days. This Rural Arithmetic was thoroughly well compiled by two men, a Professor of Mathematics and an agricultural expert in one of the great agricultural colleges.

A fresh illustration of the thought devoted to making boys good farmers may be found in a volume just published, *Vocational Agricultural Education by Home Projects*, by Rufus

W. Stimson, which I recommend to those who have charge of agricultural education in Ireland. We have many small farmers in Ireland, men who cannot afford to send their sons to agricultural colleges, and as no practical agricultural training is given in our national schools these boys must follow the methods of their fathers or pick up what they can later from lectures by the county instructors. But they get no thorough education in their business as farmers. In Massachusetts vocational education for country boys may begin before the fourteenth birthday, but after the boy is fourteen specialisation begins. Part of the training is in a school and part is carried on at the home of the boy on his father's farm. The teacher arranges with the parent that the boy shall have time, land, equipment and supplies for carrying out what is called "home project work." This may be the cultivation of a quarter acre of a vegetable garden, an acre of corn, a dozen fruit trees, the care of a couple of cows or a score of hens. In the school course everything theoretical bearing on vegetable cultivation, corn growing, care of orchard trees cows or poultry will be taught, and the teacher visits the home farm to see how the boy is carrying out the instruction given, and advises him. The teacher, in lecturing on botany, chemistry, physics, biology or mathematics, confines himself to their application to the projects of his pupils. The teacher in devising the home project has an eye on the capacity of the farm which the boy may afterwards manage, and very often it is found that the parent of the boy learns many things from his son's experiments carried out under the guidance of a practical expert. These experiments pay their own cost, and generally the plot pays better than any other area on the farm.

Mr. Stimson's book is for teachers, not for pupils. He gives endless hints out of his experience as to the kind of home projects which might be tried and the corresponding instruction to be given during school hours. The system has succeeded in Massachussets and by its results has attracted the warm approval of many educationalists of repute. An enthusiastic article by Dr. Lyman Abbot on the home project system was written in the *Outlook* and is reprinted in Mr. Stimson's book. I recommend *Vocational Agricultural Education* to the officials in our Irish Department of Agriculture, to the principals of our secondary schools in country districts, and to those in charge of agricultural colleges. I think the system is what is wanted in Ireland where hitherto no means has been found of popularising agricultural education either among the farmers or their sons. Any teacher who has read Mr. Stimson's book would get new inspiration ;

and I think once the system was explained to farmers in Ireland they would regard it with much more confidence than they have hitherto bestowed on the schemes of agricultural education devised by the Department. A. E

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, 1700 *to* 1850
By A. E. Dobbs, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1919. Pp. xiv., 257. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS volume is a remarkable and in many ways successful attempt to set popular education in its social and political environment. Students of the history of education are rightly advised to avoid a narrow or technical study of that subject. But hitherto it has often been necessary to seek the social environment in one group of books, and the history of educational ideas and institutions in another. No doubt certain modern manuals have attempted the desired correlation. But they have leaned far too much to the correlation of mental aspects of the whole social problem. Mr. Dobbs by no means neglects this aspect of a "ramifying subject": still, with full justification, he sets out clearly the economic aspects of popular education in the period of the Industrial Revolution, and so "blazes a way" for the treatment of secondary and higher education on cognate lines.

Such a volume will be beneficial, as may easily be inferred, not only to professional and general readers of the history of education, but also to students of history generally. For "General History" is often very narrowly treated: it deals only with the actual eruption of social movements into political action, and fails to deal with them in their causes and interconnexions. Mr. Dobbs does this with striking effect in such sections as that on the Lancasterian Schools (pp. 149-154), and on the Charity School movement in England (pp. 91-97). On such organised activities, as on the development of popular literature, the Wesleyan movement, the growth of Mechanics' Institutes, this volume gives much carefully arranged matter, so grouped as to illustrate the idea or ideas behind each project. Frequently these ideas are worked out into very striking and accurately-worded statements, of which one instance may be quoted. "The poor of the Charity Schools are a distinct social class. The aim of the Grammar Schools was selective: to work beneath social distinctions and to open access to the higher walks of life The aims of the Charity Schools was disciplinary: to rescue the masses and to ensure their obedience." What an apt corollary to the petition that "God bless the Squire and his relations, and keep us all in our proper stations."

Amid much that is excellent in matter and marked by a judicious balance and restraint in expression, there are inevitably many points of opinion, and even some of fact, on which a reviewer would tend to differ from Mr. Dobbs. He scarcely attributes, for instance, its full destructive force regarding education to the religious revolt in sixteenth century England: and here the plain views of the public men of Elizabethan England are against him. But he is substantially fair to the Mediæval system, if we set aside a tendency to cast back to pre-history in explanation of its social customs in work and play. Perhaps the most notable suggestion of change that one is prompted to make, in this valuable study, derives from the view so justly noted by Mr. Dobbs himself, that "progress is effected more often by foreign than by native action" (p. 19). His sources and field of observation are rigorously limited to England: scarcely in a footnote will he look over the Scottish border. Undoubtedly the subject and its period prompt constant comparisons with the evolution of popular education in France and in Ireland. The materials exist and are available: and even the Workers' Educational Association—for which Mr. Dobbs seems to have written in the main—would benefit by such comparisons. National History has its special and very obvious dangers, if the limiting adjective is rigorously interpreted. T. C.

Fiction.

ROMANS POPULAIRES, Nos. 65-75. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse. 1918-1919. 0 fr. 40 le volume.

These People's Novels are an excellent series of stories, published at the extraordinarily low price of forty centimes, so as to combat cheap and immoral fiction in the only effective way, by supplying a substitute. The word excellent is quite applicable. The stories are well and interestingly written. If at times the incidents and coincidences are surprising, it is after all the function of a story to tell something out of the common and to have a plot. They are quite refreshing to a reader jaded with impressionism and psychological analysis. Not that they lack psychology, quite the contrary. They are sufficiently various in style and subject to meet varying tastes, from the historical romance, through the tale of love and adventure, down to the present day religious problem. This is presented with a certain degree of monotony: the freethinker and anti-clerical is perhaps converted a little too often by the same kind of happy contact with hidden saints. The religious question is of course

treated with reference to French conditions, so that one must know these in order fully to understand the data of the problem. Conversely, a reader otherwise ignorant of the part played by religion and antagonism to religion in French life would learn much about it from these books. And that is one of the reasons one reads foreign literature. So that the series is highly to be commended.

M. R.

THE HOHENZOLLERNS IN AMERICA, and Other Impossibilities. By Stephen Leacock. London: John Lane. 1919. 5*s.* net.

THERE is nothing in the world sadder than to witness the attempts of a man trying to be funny and failing to succeed. There is nothing duller in literature than a similar feat meeting with a similar fate. In the book before us we encounter what we should have thought the "impossibility" of Mr. Stephen Leacock—one of the world's accepted humorists—trying to be amusing and proving merely tedious. Mr. Leacock's fund of fun is as a rule so inexhaustible that the reader is quite astonished at his failure. The War, however, seems to be a topic on which he cannot realise himself. In the opening chapters of this book he bores us with an imaginary diary, supposed to have been written by a fabled Princess Frederica of Hohenzollern, describing the woes of the ex-Kaiser and his family as emigrants in New York. The one-time War Lord travels steerage, and his fortunes are at the lowest ebb. Cheap jeers and jibes, jokes in very poor taste at his withered arm and all the stale, unprofitable calumnies which have been circulated about that once powerful monarch are the material used by Mr. Leacock. He achieves a result quite the opposite of that at which he aims. He awakens the reader's sympathy on behalf of the Kaiser. He adds a further impetus to the growing desire that the projected "trial" may never take place. In a sketch entitled "With the Bolsheviks in Berlin" the author is almost equally off the mark. It is all too obvious. The subtlety, the delicate appreciation of the comic side of things, which he has taught us to expect from his pen, are lamentably lacking. Instead we get the heavy "humour" of the English penny (now alas! two-penny) press. "Afternoon Tea with the Sultan" and "Echoes of the War" (with one glorious exception) are open to the same criticism. The chapter on "The War Sacrifices of Mr. Spugg" is, however, in Mr. Leacock's happiest vein. The gallantry with which Mr. Spugg "gives" his chauffeur, his gardener, and his own "man" in turn to the cause of the Allies is delightfully described, and shows that the war had its humorous aspect in America

as well as nearer home. "The Boy who came back" has merit also, but Mr. Leacock seems to have been too tired to make as much out of this theme as he might have done. This note of tiredness pervades the book.

The chapters read too often like an imitation of Leacock by someone lacking his skill and *finesse*. This is particularly noticeable in "The Discovery of America by Cinematograph," a very clever and amusing skit just missing the perfect touch. Frequenters of picture houses will enjoy this chapter. The reference to the courtiers quaffing goblets of "black sarsaparilla" is in the true Leacock style. Perhaps the best thing in the whole volume is the tale of "The Lost Illusions of Mr. Sims." Every line of this excellent piece of satire is up to the level of the author's best work. The essay on "Politics from Within" is also highly diverting and reveals at the same time Mr. Leacock's remarkable insight into human nature. "The Art of Conversation" is a topic on which one would expect him to excel, but here he proves disappointing, and while he is very readable on "Heroes and Heroines," we feel that others could (and, indeed, have) treated this subject quite as well.

On the whole the present volume, while it contains much to make the reader laugh, is not by any means up to Mr. Leacock's best form. He would be certainly well advised to eschew German ex-potentates. When he writes of them his performance is the reverse of a famous actor's "Hamlet"—vulgar but not funny.

W. D.

History.

(1) *DOCUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE DUBLIN.* By Robert H. Murray, Litt.D.

(2) *THE CARE OF DOCUMENTS.* By Charles Johnson. London: S. P. C. K. 1919. 8*d.* and 6*d.* net.

(1) One of the great drawbacks to the pursuit of historical research is the difficulty of ascertaining the contents of the various repositories of documents. Dr. Murray has placed many students under a debt of gratitude by his Short Guide to the Public Record Office, Dublin. This office contains much important material for the history of Ireland and the present little book should send many an enquirer to consult its archives The author has classified the documents under their several heads and noted their contents in detail. He has made great use of the Reports of the Irish Record Commissioners and of those of the Deputy Keeper. The sections

of the book on the Parliamentary Records and on those of the Council Office, Chief Secretary's Office, Courts of Chancery and Exchequer and of the Plea Rolls are particularly well done, and his explanation of the procedure in passing a Bill contains information which is not generally known. He is wrong, however, in stating that the House of Lords was ignored in the last stage of the Bill, as on passing the Commons it was sent up to the Lords and required their assent. In the section on the Privy Council Office he devotes much space to the Commonwealth Books, which fortunately escaped being burned in the fire (1711) which consumed so many Council Office Books. (Mr. Prendergast made much use of these books in his *Cromwellian Settlement*). He omits, however, any mention of the vast collection of judicial proceedings in the Common Pleas and Plea Side of the King's Bench (except so far as contained in the Plea Rolls); and the County records, which consist of the collections of the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of each county, and contain their criminal and fiscal records, are passed over without any mention.

Dr. Murray's Guide would have been clearer if he had not been so anxious to go into such detail. In the compass of 64 pages it is impossible to chronicle everything in the Public Record Office, and it would have been better to have left room for other and more important matter. For instance, the large body of Collectors' Accounts containing so much of importance about the Customs and Excise, and the Military Records including those of the Yeomanry and Militia, are not even hinted at.

We have noticed a few mistakes. The first Justiciar and Chief Governor of Ireland was Hugh de Lacy appointed probably by Henry II. on leaving Ireland, and not Hamon de Valoignes. Also the Court of Common Bench was established long before the reign of Ed. I. Blemishes of this kind, however, are few and rarely occur. There is an appendix containing notes of some of the more important MSS. in Marsh's Library, the Public Library Armagh, the National Library, and the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. We can recommend Dr. Murray's Guide to the student of Irish History as giving him in a handy form a compendious view of many of the most important documents in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

(2) *The Care of Documents*, by Mr. Johnson, will not appeal to as many students as the Guide to the Public Record Office, because it has been written for the purpose of helping archivists, who are a small though ever growing body. The improvement in the study of history during the last fifty years has tended to increase the respect for the materials of history amongst their possessors, and corporations and other bodies are selecting with greater care the custodians

of their archives. To such the assistance which this little book gives will be very welcome, especially as it comes from one who has had experience of working in the London Record Office.

Mr. Johnson commences with deriving the word "archive" from the Greek ἀρχεῖον, which meant firstly the residence of the chief magistrate, and secondly the collection of official documents stored there. He treats of the management of archives from the points of arrangement, housing, packing, cleaning and repairing, reagents, production and means of reference, and clearly has in his mind the care of documents in large collections; but the advice which he gives will be of advantage to those whose documents, though worth preserving, may not be very numerous. He lays particular stress on the care which must be taken to retain the *provenance* of the document, the principle of origin, which some people with a craze for system disregard to their cost. As Mr. Jackson says, "The original grouping of the documents must be preserved." He recommends that documents be repaired with a transparent *mousseline de soie* instead of tracing paper, and gives a prescription for restoring faded writing, but cautiously adds: "It is safest not to use a reagent unless the document is to be printed or a copy of it preserved." The book is full of sound advice.

H. W.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF ETHERIA. By M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe, D.D. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1919. 6*s.* net.

The S.P.C.K. is doing a great service to Catholics—why is it left to an Anglican society to do it?—by its series of translations of Christian literature. These translations place within reach of ordinary readers texts and documents, often of extraordinary interest, which would be otherwise inaccessible either by reason of the language or because they are stored away in learned tomes and rare editions. For the intelligent student of Church history who cannot afford to be a specialist—and all educated Catholics ought to come within that category—such books abound in information and suggestion. The small amount of intellectual application they require is fruitful of unexpected results.

The pilgrimage, here described in the words of the pilgrim herself, was made towards the end of the fourth century, from Spain to the East, for the purpose of visiting all the places hallowed by memories of the Old and New Testament, and by Christian martyrs and solitaries up to that time. She travelled from Constantinople through Asia Minor to Jerusalem; thence, reversing

the route of the Israelites, through the desert to Mount Sinai, through Egypt, and back to the Holy Land; here and there in Palestine; and again into Mesopotamia, and through Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia to Constantinople. She was not only very devout, but also very curious and very alert; and her narrative is, to quote the Introduction, "as veracious as it is undoubtedly vivacious." It is written in a vulgar Latin, of which the learned have not succeeded in settling the date or the local peculiarities. It is worth study from this point of view. But it simply teems with interest on questions of topography, history, scripture study; and above all on the history of the liturgy. It is preceded by an excellent Introduction which throws light on all these points, and gives some account of the problems arising out of the text. The vexed question of the pilgrim's name is barely referred to. We miss Dom Germain Morin from the list of writers who have treated of the pilgrimage. He adopts the form Eucheria; and his article, published in 1913, in the *Revue Bénédictine*—"*Un passage énigmatique de S. Jérôme contre la pélerine espagnole Eucheria?*"—contains a most interesting conjecture and contributes a confirmatory argument in favour of the early date of the pilgrimage. A map would have been a very great help in following up Etheria—or Eucheria—in her wanderings.

M. R.

Labour.

THE IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT. By W. P. Ryan. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1919. 4*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS excellent sketch of the Irish labour movement in the last hundred years forms the first of a series entitled *The Makings of Modern Ireland* to be published by the Talbot Press. We congratulate the publishers on their enterprise, to which we wish and confidently predict a full measure of success. There is a widely felt need at the present time for a well-informed account of the influences, political, religious, and economic, which have gone to make up the present Irish situation. This need seems at last about to be met.

We hope that the volume before us is typical of the whole series. It is written by one who has the fullest possible knowledge of the subject which he treats, and it contains in a short compass the result of much research and, what is more valuable, much thought. Mr. Ryan speaks with an inside knowledge of the Irish labour movement during the last twenty years, and his account of the movement in the nineteenth century is based upon an exhaustive

perusal of every available source of information bearing upon the subject. If Mr. Ryan's balance is not so conspicuous as his knowledge, we have no reason to complain. He does not for a moment pretend to be impartial, and frankly presents his case not as a judge but as an advocate. If in his presentation he commits any error of judgment, it is at least an error which in its nature can only be committed by a competent advocate—that of emphasising too strongly an overwhelmingly strong case. We are not sure that a calm, impassionate recitation of the facts is not the most convincing argument for a doubting or hostile audience.

Mr. Ryan shows a proper appreciation of the intimate connection between the land and labour problems in the early part of last century. In a country like Ireland, where the great majority of the population was directly dependent on the land for support, the problem of eviction was really one of unemployment. We do not think, however, that he lays sufficient emphasis upon the part played by the Poor Law in helping to tear the peasantry from the soil. The report of the Irish Poor Law Commission of 1906 clearly shows that the principal motive which inclined the government of the day to act counter to Mr. Drummond's advice was the increased facility which the new Poor Law gave to the process of wholesale eviction which was then proceeding.

Mr. Ryan's account of the labour movement in the towns, especially Dublin, is of particular value, inasmuch as he has been at pains to read and digest the vast mass of evidence upon the subject, which is contained in many bulky and generally forgotten parliamentary papers. While we do not always agree with his method of handling the evidence which he has gathered, we are in complete agreement with the main conclusions at which he arrives.

We do not think that Mr. Ryan has added anything to the strength of his case by the anti-clerical observations which occur from time to time in his book. G. O'B.

SCIENCE AND LABOUR. By Josefa Ioteyko. London: Routledge. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

In a former number of Studies we reviewed a book on *Efficiency Methods*, and while cordially approving of its underlying idea and principle, we expressed some doubts as to the practical merits of the system therein set forth. The Taylor method, excellently calculated though it was to secure greater efficiency in business, appeared to be incomplete, and in many respects to run counter to what may be regarded as the most enlightened modern view of the due status

of workers. It is altogether a matter for satisfaction, therefore, to come across this new system, which completes the deficiencies and provides against the dangers of the older one.

Efficiency Methods was only an introduction to Scientific Management, which aims at experimentally establishing industrial and commercial enterprises on the most efficient lines. The *Science of Labour* goes farther. It purports to make a psychological and physiological study of the workers, as human motors, with the object of discovering how they may be utilised most advantageously, taking due account of the material value of their output, and of the individual workers themselves considered as members of the human family. What has been and what may be done in this respect the book before me sums up clearly and simply. The results of recorded investigation are most interesting and enlightening. Particularly gratifying is the evidence of proper regard for the humanity of workmen and the necessity of recognising the workmen's viewpoint.

This science, if properly developed and applied, gives promise of effecting unthought of reforms in industrial organisation. But whatever may be the future of the Science of Labour, this little book can be unconditionally recommended, particularly to people exercising control over industry or education, who will be sure to find in it numerous hints and suggestions that may be turned to immediate and practical use. J. K.

Music.

THE STORY OF BRITISH MUSIC. By Clement Antrobus Harris. London: Kegan Paul. 1919. 2*s.* 6*d.*

SHAKESPEARE: His Music and Song. By A. H. Moncur-Sime. London: Kegan Paul. 1918. 2*s.* 6*d.*

1. *The Story of British Music* is the latest volume of the interesting series entitled "The Music Lover's Library," edited by Dr. A. Eaglefield Hull. Let it be frankly said that Mr. Harris has made great use of the works of Burney, Hawkins, Davey, Walker, Fuller Maitland, Barclay Squire, and that he has contrived to compress within the compass of 226 pages a succinct story of British Music. Though he has paid generous tribute to Irish Music, and in particular to the works of the present writer, it is a disagreeable task to point out a crop of errors scattered throughout the volumes under review:—Kircher's well-known *Musurgia Universalis* is stated to have been "published at Rome in 1590" (Father Kircher was then ten years old!); a "Planxty" and a "Lament" are equated;

the " Sibel " is a Welsh Dance ; John of Fornsete was " chartulary " of the Abbey of Reading, he was also " Cartulary " ; Pallis was the first English lay organist ; the Roman singers introduced the " Ambrosian " system of plain-song ; the Mastership of the Choristers of St. Paul's goes back to 1473 ; St. Aldhelm flourished " 300 years earlier than St. Dunstan " ; additions to the Liturgy are " regarded as *ex liturgica* " ; " in pre-Reformation days such a thing as a hymn-book was unknown " ; the first appearance of the " Old Hundreth " is in the Genevan Psalter of 1556 ; " the Roman Catholic Church uses no fewer than forty hymns by a single author, Dr. Bonar, and he a Protestant " ; John Cotton "was in all probability an Englishman" ; " Duns Scotus Erigena " died in 875—a " British writer " ; the English invented faux-bourdon, and " the art of composition " ; the " March of the Men of Harlech . . . originated in 1468 " ; " the Chapel Royal was due to Richard II " ; the last recorded performance of the *Beggars' Opera* was " in 1872 or 1873 " ; the first use of the piano as a solo instrument was on June 2, 1768 ; a music charter is preserved by " Raymens in his *Foedera* " ; Oxford was " the home of the first public concerts " ; in 1690 " Bards ceased in Ireland with the battle of the Boyne " ; the earliest known piece of music printed in England is " a song in an Interlude by Rastill—a musician of whom I can find no details." But, as I have said, the little volume is a succinct account of British Music ; and it is pleasantly written and attractively produced.

2. *Shakespeare : His Music and Song* is a popular written book based on the well-known works of Chappell, Elson, and Naylor. One can gauge the writer's mentality from the following : " It was a very practical, positive England into which Shakespeare was born in 1564. England was then developing into a great Protestant Power. In 1587 Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed, and the breach between England and the Catholic world was irrevocable and complete. . . . It was in Shakespeare's day that England's now world-wide commerce and industry came into being." Mr. Sime takes up the various plays and points out the musical allusions. In general he summarises the views of Chappell and others. but when he ventures on dance-forms he blunders badly, *e.g.*, " The Brawl was one of several tunes to which the Country Dance was danced whether in a ring or at length." He might have consulted with profit the excellent paper on " the Ancient Dance-Forms " by Mr. Jeffrey Pulver, which appeared in the Proceedings of the Musical Association, 39th Session, 1912-1913. The fact is that the Branle, or Brawl, was one of the oldest forms of European dances, the other being the Bassedanse.

It would have been well to note that the *Passionate Pilgrim* contains twenty poems, of which five can only be credited to Shakespeare. Also it might have been mentioned that Desdemona's song of the Willow was borrowed from John Heywood's "All a grene Wyllow." And again, no mention is made of the eleven Irish tunes alluded to by Shakespeare, nor of the quoted song by Orlando di Lasso, nor of the bard's references to Edwardes' song, "When griping grief." The explanation of "woollen bagpipe" as equivalent to "swollen bagpipe" has been discarded: the reference is to the Irish *Uilleann* pipes. Equally obsolete is the explanation as to the Virginal being probably so called from Queen Bess, "the Virgin Queen," because we now know that Virginals were popular before Elizabeth was born, in fact they are mentioned in the year 1502. Finally, Mr. Sime does not appear to be familiar with the recent arguments in favour of attributing the *Macbeth* and *Tempest* music to Henry Purcell, whose Irish ancestry has been exploited in recent times.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Readings in Literature.

CAMBRIDGE READINGS IN LITERATURE. A new series of illustrated anthologies in five books. Edited by George Sampson. London: Cambridge University Press. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* net each. (Price varies according to binding).

THESE are very pleasant collections. Each volume is a sort of *macédoine* of prose, verse and pictures, drawn from sources the most diverse, selected with judgment and a good sense of contrast. Order in any more obvious sense is entirely disregarded. The pleasantness—and also the modesty and good sense of the preface—almost disarm unfavourable or questioning criticism. Yet one must remember that these are offered as educational works in an age of crammed programmes and contending subjects, and one has to ask—whether the wisdom of ages has really been mistaken in preferring the ordered, the graduated, the carefully-appropriated, the systematically-explained in the training of a child's mind to chaos, however glittering, and to disorder—even that of a *pluie de perles?* Whether these books are likely to beget in the average student any capacity for comparative judgments, solid appreciation or indeed brain-exercise of any kind? Whether they are not more likely to prolong in him or her the state of mind of "Maidie," to whom considerable space is devoted in Book Five—"Maidie," interesting but most undeveloped, who mixes up so wonderfully *Macbeth*, the *Newgate Calendar*, Morehead's Sermons, "novelettes, my Bible and my prayers"? Whether the unexplained and uncommented bits of

pictorial art from everywhere and everywhen can be expected to lead to any wiser talk and thought about art than "Maidie's" about "the Genius Demedicus"? The critics have been praising the "freshness" of Mr. Sampson's selections, but these *blasé* people forget that all is fresh to the young, and that educational books require to be compiled with very different ideals from that of tickling elderly palates. We should like to join in praising these assorted fruits of a cultivated taste, but fear they will prove, if an attractive and tasty, yet not an equally digestible and nourishing meal for the young minds they are meant for. G. O'N.

LEAVES FROM THE LAUREL TREE. By Theodore Maynard. B. H. Blackwell. Oxford: Blackwell. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Maynard has realised and meditated on the wide and full applicability of Catholic dogmas and teachings to every aspect of man's activities. His book, written in a style which achieves brilliancy rather than lucidity, points out the relation of what might seem remote doctrinal matters to such various fields of human activity as mystical poetry and the quarrel between Capital and Labour. The most original of the essays is perhaps that on the mystical note in poetry. It ends with the sentence: "The thought of the kind closeness of our God is at the centre of all mystical contemplation; for mystery is the exact opposite of mystification." It will not surprise us if we find Mr. Maynard analyzing as mystifiers or pseudo-mystics rather than true mystics certain recent poets who have been described by the honoured title, and pointing out where they have missed the highway of truth to wander down sweet-scented by-paths. A whole cult of decadence is brought under thoughtful examination. Some of the verdicts on literary matters may provoke dissent or discussion; thus, the opinion that of all prose writers of the twentieth century Alice Meynell is most certain of immortality will seem to many unjust to the claims of more vigorous stylists. Under the heading "Sanctity and the Sanitary Inspector" the writer breaks a lance with those who have made of cleanliness a religion. The article on the Guild idea might have been somewhat more simple and straightforward; but it suggests many ideas towards a settlement of the labour and capital war—ideas taken from that armoury of Catholic social teaching, still too little known both to the general public and to the workers so keenly concerned, Leo XIII.'s great encyclical.

The book is a satisfactory evidence of the constructive thinking done in England at present on Catholic lines. It is, we hope, a swallow that heralds a season of fruitfulness. G. C. M.

LINKS BETWEEN IRELAND AND SHAKESPEARE. By Sir D. Plunket Barton, Bart., M.A. Dublin: Maunsel. 1919. 5*s.* net.

THE author has brought to this work—a fruit of retirement from judicial functions—two qualities which many will recollect as characteristic of his forensic and judicial career—unhurried skill in arguing out a difficult case and a gift for conciliation. By leisurely development of details Sir Plunket Barton brings us to share his belief that Shakespeare's links with Ireland were more numerous, more subtle, more friendly than has hitherto been generally supposed. In the pleasing bonds of relationship thus educed he involves Shakespeare's country and countrymen. His book might have taken for its motto his poet's hymeneal chant :—

> Then there is mirth in heaven
> When earthly things made even
> Atone together.

He has kept count of all matter-of-fact *rapprochements*, and has a sense for more mysterious affinities. His work is scholarly ; yet we shall spoil pleasure and profit if we read it in a contentious spirit. For the writer it has obviously been a labour of love rather than of cold logic. It is full of agreeable disquisitions or digressions anent and around the main points raised. The Purgatory of St. Patrick, the voyages of St. Brendan, Irish bards, Irish wolf-hounds, Irish actors, many much-discussed matters of Shakesperian interpretation—such things go to make up a volume which it is difficult to lay down at any point before the end, and which we are content to recommend, without further comment on its subject-matter, to readers Irish, English and from elsewhere. It touches on many delicate matters without jarring on any susceptibilities, and is amply generous to precursors and helpers. G. O'N.

ENGLISH LITERATURE DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY. By J. W. Cunliffe, D.Litt. New York: Macmillan. 1919. $2.

MR. Cunliffe is professor of English in Columbia University, associate director of the School of Journalism, and director of the London branch of the American University Union. We should expect from such an author an eminently practical book, and this he gives us. Meredith, Hardy, Stevenson, Butler, Gissing, Shaw, Kipling, Conrad, Wells, Galsworthy, Bennet are brought before us in separate essays, and there are studies of the Irish Movement, the New Poets and the New Novelists. On these recent and contemporary

themes judgment must be tentative, as our author strongly urges. Not striving to be dogmatic, he yet escapes vagueness. He is more concerned with facts than theories, but avoids mere drybone cataloguing. In its sincerity and simplicity the book is to be recommended as a really useful guide to the English literature produced in the British Isles during the last fifty years. Oddly enough, America, with other outlying fields of English, is almost ignored.

G. O'N.

War Literature.

PAPA'S WAR, and Other Satires. By Edward Garnett. London: Office of *The Herald.* 1919. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Devil is the father of lies, and according to Mr. Garnett he was father also to the Great War. If it be not displeasing to the Censor to concur in this shifting of responsibility from the shoulders of the ex-Kaiser, I beg to express my entire acquiescence. It is, of course, a form of begging the question; but in so far as it holds guilty all the notorious "chancelleries of Europe," if not in equal measure, still in some degree of complicity, for the inhuman savagery of the past four years, it is quite a satisfactory theory. Very pleasantly and skilfully does Mr. Garnett introduce and develop his idea. Lucifer, seated amiably in the bosom of his family circle, unfolds his plan to that appreciative audience. They are agog to see it put into action. The French Governess alone has a higher motive than mere devilry in wishing for the War. She desires *la revanche.* All are gratified when Lucifer, having at last concluded the necessary preliminaries, gets the War going.

The other Satires deal with "the duration," and are sufficiently biting to afford genuine pleasure to that small and unreckoned section of the community who failed to grasp that the War was fought "to end war," that it had for its object the advancement of Christianity and Civilization, and that all associated with its conduct, whether as fighting-men, statesmen, or enthusiastic male and female non-combatants, were entirely inspired by purity of motive and lofty idealism. Mr. Garnett may be styled a Pacifist, but he cannot be called a Pro-German. Or at least not truthfully. His attack is on War itself and on those who promote and sustain it. His book will, I am sure, be extremely unpopular with the general public in Great Britain.

"Truth's Welcome Home" is a satire which exhibits Mr. Garnett's qualities at their best, and in "Holy Russia" and "The Anniversary" he attains to a very high level. "*Take my advice,*"

says Justice to Truth. "*Go everywhere and see everything, as before, but don't cry aloud in wartime. Even in peace people dislike listening to you, but now they will howl you down if you open your lips. It is the day of Lies.*" Eventually, poor Truth, having suffered every humiliation and with her tongue cut out, finds her way into a Hospital for Incurable Soldiers. Her inarticulate efforts baffle the attendants, but the soldiers take her meaning. They exclaim: "*She's telling people about the War.*" In "The Anniversary" the author is taken for a flight over battlefields and council chambers in an aeroplane, and "The Vision of Mirzah" recurs to the reader. "'*This is a New Age for Humanity,*'" observes the airman, pointing "*to an enclosure with barred cages where hundreds of men were pacing up and down fiercely, like wild beasts . . . 'The men who won't kill other men,' he explained.*"

Many of the author's shafts are aimed at the politicians in whose hands lay the conduct of affairs, and his jibes against the English Liberals are peculiarly severe. So kaleidescopic has been the course of events since August, 1914, that there is some little difficulty experienced now and again in recalling the particular episode that is the subject of Mr. Garnett's acid wit. In a few more years it will be almost impossible to do so. The general trend of his satires is, however, unmistakeable, and his theory that "*there were two wars going on together simultaneously—viz., the outer war between the two groups of Bellicose Powers, and the Internal War between the Classes and the Masses,*" is one more likely to secure believers in the future than at the moment. It is noteworthy that no reference of any kind to Ireland, beyond the single phrase "measly Irish," occurs anywhere in these pages.

The volume resembles a "gift-book" in appearance, and the quaint printing and *format* generally are, perhaps, more calculated to irritate than to please. W. D.

AMERICA IN FRANCE. The Story of the Making of an Army. By Lt.-Col. Frederick Palmer, S.C., U.S.A. London: John Murray. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

LIEUT.-COL. Palmer tells in this book, in very simple and unpretending fashion, the story of a great achievement. The achievement does not consist in the warlike exploits of the American army in France, though the fighting record of the army in its short campaign is highly creditable. It consists in the fact that in the summer and autumn of 1918 there *was* an American army in France, large enough to turn the scale of battle and decide the issue of the war. That

army was not sufficiently trained to make it ready for all the tasks of war ; but it was quite able to take over and hold large sectors of the line and to release equivalent numbers of fully trained French troops. It guaranteed to Marshal Foch an unending succession of reserves of high military quality, and it thereby rendered possible the tremendous and costly offensives by which the war was won.

From Col. Palmer's graphic pages one gains an idea of the colossal difficulties of the task, and of the spirit that overcame them. America, it must be remembered, only entered the war in 1917. The seas swarmed with German submarines, and the shipping resources of the Allies were barely sufficient for the tasks already imposed upon them. The best heads in Germany considered that America, even if she had a trained army ready of the necessary size, might as well be in the moon as far as her prospects of using it were concerned. And America had no army.

Yet the army was created, shipped to France, trained, equipped, fed. Even after reading Col. Palmer's description of how it was done, it seems as much of a miracle as ever. M. F. E.

A LAST DIARY OF THE GREAT WARR. By Samuel Pepys, Junior. London : John Lane. 1919. 6*s.* net.

If imitation be the sincerest form of flattery, and not of insult as Oscar Wilde has alleged, then Samuel Pepys of the days of Charles II. of England has been highly flattered by the volume before us. The person who hides his true name under the title of Samuel Pepys Junior has caught perfectly the style of the notorious Diarist. This in itself is not difficult to do. Hosts of imitators of the original Pepys have given proof of this fact ; none the less the author whose work we are considering deserves credit for the faithful fashion in which he has captured not only the style but the spirit of the garrulous gentleman on whom he has modelled himself. There remains, of course, the outstanding difference that the original *Diary* was, so far as we know, a chronicle of pure fact, the book under review is largely a work of fiction. Samuel Pepys of His Majesty's Admiralty in the Seventeenth Century jotted down in a species of shorthand his most intimate thoughts and his least publishable doings. It has never seemed right to my mind that these personal revelations should have been given to the world. It was never the author's intention that they should have been. The reader has the same guilty joy in reading them that he might derive from the illicit perusal of purely private letters. Quite on a different footing are Rousseau's *Confessions,* printed for those who run— and those who

do not—to read. Still the publication of the original Pepys' *Diary* cannot harm that worthy now, and it has added greatly to the gaiety of nations.

The modern Pepys jotted down his *Diary* for weekly perusal by the readers of *Truth*. This was by far the best way to read him. Commenting after the manner of his famous prototype on events as they happened from week to week, he produced a delightful synopsis of the news, the rumours, and the habits of the times. To succeed in the last-mentioned endeavour he introduced a number of fictitious characters, with the result that when one comes to read him in book form after the war, the imaginary persons and episodes detract from the value of the historical record. Again, Pepys Senior (if we may so style him) knew at first hand the great folk whom he mentions. He encountered in the flesh the Duke of York, Nell Gwynne, my Lord Sandwich, and other famous and infamous people. Pepys Junior quite obviously derives his knowledge of their modern equivalents from the daily papers. It makes a difference.

The value of the book from a historical point of view is the picture it gives of life in London while the war lasted. It brings home to us who lived in Ireland during that period more forcibly than anything else that has been written on that subject the strain imposed by the constant air-raids and the rationing restrictions. Of these things Pepys Junior writes exactly as Pepys Senior did of the scares caused by the French and the Dutch in his day. Indeed, so faithfully does the modern scribe follow in the footsteps of his model that after a continued perusal of his chapters one sometimes yawns . . . and so to bed. W. D.

LA VIE DES AMES. Par Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber). Paris: Bernard Grasset. 1919. 3 fr. 50.

THE title of this book is a little misleading, as it includes, besides examples of individual souls informed by a fiery patriotism, lyric outpourings in praise of the "souls" of all the "allied" countries. The soul of a country is an elusive thing, and not to be caught fast and caged in a dozen prose paragraphs. But these perfervid utterances are not to be weighed in the balance of strict accuracy. They are natural enough from the pen of an enthusiastic Frenchwoman, brave-spirited and sore-tried by the war. She says herself of the "Latin soul" that it "intoxicates itself with words and grows drunk with heroism"; that it "embraces with the same passion false ideas and true ideas." We like Madame Adam best in the nobly-subdued and Christian chapter on *La Vie des morts*; and in the words of her Introduction, slight though the immediate con-

nection seems to be between them and what they introduce: "Let science soar, let souls soar, up to the immortal and divine light, and let our souls live a life every day more conscious, loftier, more learned." M. R.

Miscellaneous.

THE PROOFS OF THE TRUTHS OF SPIRITUALISM. By Rev. Prof. G. Henslow, M.A. London: Kegan Paul. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE FOLLIES AND FRAUDS OF SPIRITUALISM. By Walter Mann. London: Watts. 1919.

SPIRIT EXPERIENCES. By Charles A. Mercier. Same publishers.

THESE three books on the fashionable topic of spiritualism differ widely in character. The first is by a true believer, and when we say that a large share of his "facts" are drawn from the doings of that genial but—to say the least—eccentric person, the late Archdeacon Colley, we have said enough to make most persons conversant with the history of spiritualism approach this book with caution. Of course, it is interesting as an example of what passes for proof in certain circles, and the spirit pictures are alone worth the price of the book. We have never seen anything funnier than some of them are.

The other two books, as may be imagined from their source, approach the question from the opposite pole. The first of them contains a useful account of the innumerable frauds of the paid mediums of the past and could be more freely recommended were it not for the very obvious bias which it shows against anything but absolutely materialistic views. For example, a quotation (which might possibly have effect with those who were not acquainted with its author) cited by the writer wherein it is assumed that membership of the Catholic Church is incompatible with complete intellectual sanity, or, again, the remark—quite gratuitous and quite untruthful too—that the Y.M.C.A. (for which we hold no brief) before the war never did anything more serious than provide amusements for its members in order to divert them from thinking and keep them within the fold. After all, if you are quite certain that there is no other world than this, why worry about mediums or spiritualists, since they must be frauds or deluded? And, if there is no other world and it pleases people to play at spiritualism in this, why try to dissuade them? Let us eat and drink. As to the last book on the list, an attempt to dispose of spiritualism by facetiousness, its author has achieved the distinction of thorough vulgarity without even approaching the boundaries of the kingdom of fun. B. C. A. W.

THE AMERICA OF TO-DAY. Edited by Gaillard Lapsley, M.A., Ph.D. London: Cambridge University Press. 1919. 12*s.* net.

THIS book, which consists of a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge in the summer of 1918, is designed to make the movement of American life more intelligible to English readers. Like all symposiums of the kind, it suffers from a considerable inequality of style and matter, some of the contributions being clear and instructive, others of little importance. The tendency of the whole is to accentuate and exaggerate, for propaganda purposes and the furtherance of an Anglo-American alliance, the similarity of English and American institutions. It is true that the community of language and common law have made for unity of development; but one has only to read this book in order to realise that the lines of cleavage are deeper and more real than the surface similarities.

The large and heterogeneous bodies of immigrants assimilated by the United States have of necessity altered and coloured its national life, which has also developed to meet its own peculiar necessities. Two of the most interesting and informing contributions are the complementary articles on "State and Municipal Government" and "Social Legislation and Administration" by Lord Eustace Percy. The increasing complications of democratic government have enormously increased the burden of the individual voter, and in a country like the United States, containing a large number of illiterate immigrant voters, they have naturally led to serious difficulties. The universal tendency in America, a tendency which we might with profit closely examine, is to reduce and simplify the voters' task. Lord Percy deals clearly with the Commission system of city government; but he does not allude to its latest development, the city manager system now in active operation in several states.

The aim of both these systems, for the second is a development of the first, is to reduce the number of elective officers and to concentrate in the hands of a small and highly qualified executive the responsibility of appointing administrative officers and managing municipal affairs. Both systems have so far worked well, and we hope to return to the subject in more detail at a later date.

We are aware from our own experience that democratic government does not always mean liberty, and that it has become in many cases a system of the meanest organised tyranny over the poor, who are regulated and controlled to a point that almost eliminates the element of free will. This has also been the case in America, where Juvenile Courts and Courts of Domestic Relations have put the Star Chamber in the shade.

The latest example of this spirit is to be found in the enactment

of national prohibition. Many of these developments are of course due to the American genius for "association." "In every case," says de Tocqueville, "where at the head of a great enterprise you see in France the Government and in England an aristocrat, be sure that in the United States you will see an association." And again: "The moment the people of the United States have conceived a feeling or an idea that they wish to propagate in the world, they seek each other, and when they have found each other they unite." This habit of association, whilst it leads to many legislative absurdities and tyrannies, imposed by these active associations on their passive fellow citizens, is in many respects excellent. It has led to a greater sense of civic responsibility and to the establishment of such excellent and vital bodies as the Women's Clubs and Municipal Leagues, who conducted the recent campaign for voluntary national rationing with overwhelming success. These associations, of which the great Catholic exemplar is the Knights of Columbus, have also done splendid work of a philanthropic nature.

In this connexion Lord Percy points out that it is utterly unfair to assume that organisations like Tammany Hall are merely sordid excresences in American public life. "They have," he writes, "real strength drawn from the life of the people and fulfil real functions which cannot be dispensed with. . . . Tammany and societies and organisations of the same kind have drawn their strength not merely or primarily from electoral manipulation with all its attendant corruption and 'log rolling,' but from real human touch with the life of the poor . . . their position has been founded on a charity which may well cover a multitude of sins." And he goes on to admit that the charity of Tammany is due to its Catholic and may we not say without shame its Irish origins and influences. It is interesting to note also that Mr. Kennedy who writes on "Industrial Conditions" points out that the Irish have settled mainly in the large cities where they have played an active part. Their presence in these thickly populated centres gives them a strong point of vantage from which to influence public opinion but it also inclines a superficial observer to exaggerate their numbers and influence.

The tone and temper of all the lectures is excellent save for one impertinent, false and ignorant reference to the influence of the Catholic priesthood by a person called Mrs. Bowlker who writes on the "Position of Women." The Editor himself gives her the lie when he writes that "the United States would be at a loss to discharge the task that has fallen to their lot without the loyal and generous help they have received from the Roman Church."

JOHN J. HORGAN.

DYSERT-DIARMADA; or Irish Place-Names, their Beauty and their Degradation. By an Irish C.C. Dublin: Gill. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE task of reviewing the present book is not easy. I have read it over twice, and am fain to confess that I have been disappointed. To judge it seriously would scarcely be fair, as it is a remarkable collection of materials that can by no stretch of the imagination be said to have any bearing on the subject of Dysert-Diarmada. As a romance it would make good holiday reading; but evidently the author or compiler wishes it to be regarded as a "stimulus" for a more elaborate book on Irish place-names. From the Preface we learn that the book "does not contain a single fact or assertion, however lightly put, that would shun the most rigorous scrutiny." The author continues—"Convinced as he is that it will deepen the reader's love of his own particular district, and somewhat also his love of his old religion and of his ancient country, he has deemed it right, never minding critics, to publish it. If it does not do that it fails on its mission. If it effects it, any other result or consequence is not worth talking about."

There are in all some sixteen chapters, which may well be described as *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Such an ill-digested and heterogeneous mass of clippings and anecdotes would be hard to exhibit. And above all, the cocksure statements invite criticism. The author gives us to understand that he has gone through the works of Petrie, O'Curry, O'Donovan, Hogan, Joyce; yet I fear very much that he has not profited much therefrom. The absurdity of his statement that "there is not a Catholic church, without a single exception, antedating the nineteenth century anywhere in Ireland" is ludicrous to those who are acquainted with the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, or the Augustinian Friary, Dungarvan, or the Augustinian Friary, Fethard, or the parish church of Graignamanagh, etc. Next, his account of Dermod MacMurrough is not as is recorded in the Book of Leinster. And what would an Irish etymologist make of the derivation of Cloyne from Cluain-Namha? Incidentally, the author styles Lady Butler of "Roll Call" fame a "Catholic Irishwoman"—this is news, indeed!

In a section dealing with "historical sketches" as illustrated in place-names, we are gravely told that "on the whole map of Ireland there are not a score of names in all, out of its hundreds of thousands, that are Danish." It is sufficient to mention that in County Wexford alone there are over a score of Scandinavian names. But I could quote even more frequent misstatements.

The book is padded out in a wonderful fashion, and one whole chapter (Chapter VIII.) is devoted to a memoir of a Marist Lay

Brother, with a long footnote on Tom McGowan, an inmate of the Drumcondra Blind Asylum—" of phenomenal memory." Curiously enough, it is not until we reach the last chapter that an attempt is made to give a " ready-made history of Dysert-Diarmada." This " ready-made " production is merely a copy of the scant information to be found in the original (1786) edition of Archdall, ignoring the additions of the new (1876) edition. W. H. Grattan Flood.

POUR MARIER COLETTE. Par Jean Nesmy. Paris : Bernard Grasset. 1919. 4 fr. 55.

This book is full of poetic charm. It consists of simple and sometimes quaint memories, and of good advice given by a dear wise old maiden aunt to her young nieces on the fascinating and grave topic of getting married. The contrasts between girls now and girls of her generation, and further back, are keen and humorous. Much of the advice so lightly administered is profoundly sensible. Some of it strikes us as mainly applicable in that sheltered world where girls—if they were old-fashioned—exchanged a Sacred Heart convent for a *gentilhommière* in the country ; where—if they are new-fangled—they live in a round of lectures, lessons, and amusements. A charming world, a distinguished world, a world not, alas ! without its full share of trouble. But what of all the other girls for whom modern conditions formulate more diverse problems ? The author is for instance rather hard on the intellectual girl, with his marked care to distinguish between *intellectual* and *intelligent*. Nor do we quite like everything in the chapter on the dowry, though here one must allow for differences in custom.

However, even the most intellectual amongst us, and not merely the *jeunes filles à marier*, can get plenty of profit out of the wisdom of Tante Antonine. We can reflect with her on the mystery of life " which changes, and changes us," which yields its secret only to patient meditation on experience, which " has no meaning unless one is a Christian." We can realise that religion should not narrow the soul, but enlarge its horizon and " by a continual and fruitful exercise of love make the mind more indulgent, the soul more charitable, the heart deeper." We admit readily that the essential defect in much modern education is that it does not develop a strong, disciplined, pliable character ; and that young people are often prepared for a life of ease which can never be theirs. Lastly, this is a wide-reaching programme, well worth putting into practice : " to look at life fearlessly, resolutely, to make firmly sure of our principles and our faith, and thus never to have any hesitation or doubt about our duties." M. R.

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